

THE
EXPEDITION
OF
CYRUS INTO PERSIA;
AND THE
RETREAT
OF THE
TEN THOUSAND GREEKS.

TRANSLATED FROM
XENOPHON,
WITH
CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES,
By EDWARD SPELMAN, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THIRD EDITION, CORRECTED.

VOL. II.

CAMBRIDGE,

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M.DCC.LXXVI.

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MDCCLXXII

THE following Geographical Dissertation, is a *Work of so much Learning, that I am confident it will be thought not only to explain, but even to adorn the Expedition of CYRUS; and though, at first, I believe, only designed as a Compliment to my Bookseller, is received with as great Acknowledgement by the Author, as it will be with Approbation by the Public.* There are, I observe, some Points, in which this learned Gentleman differs from me in Chronology, and the Computation of the Greek Measures, or rather from Diodorus Siculus, and Arbuthnot, whom I have followed; but I could never answer it either to the Public, or my self, if any Difference of Opinion in those Points could create in me a Wish to deprive them of so great an Improvement, or my Work of so great an Ornament. —

G E O G R A P H I C A L
D I S S E R T A T I O N .

IT is observed by a late ingenious Author, that a Prince, so entirely bent upon the enlarging of his Territories, as *Lewis XIV.* was, could not be very well pleased with the Mathematicians, who measured his Kingdom: for that by fixing the true Boundaries of his Dominions, they robbed him of more Land, than he could have any Hopes of regaining by four or five of his most successful Campaigns. The *Mohammedan* Princes have still a stronger Tye (if stronger can be than Ambition) in this respect: Their Religion obliges them, both to extend their Borders, and to be in a peculiar manner tenacious of what they already possess. How therefore the
Grand

Grand Seignior may relish the Measures of our modern Geographers, I cannot take upon me to say; but certain it is, that they have deprived him of so much Land (which before he had an uncontested Title to) that had the *Grand Monarque* suffered in such a Degree, the World would never afterwards have had any Reason to fear the *Gallic* Power.

THE *Arabians*, who are the Geographers, the *Turks* are most conversant with, lay down *Byzantium*, and the Northern Parts of *Asia Minor*, in about 45 Degrees of North Latitude; *Ptolemy* in ^a about 43; and the Southern Parts of *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, &c. in ^b 36° 30'; whereas in fact the former lie in about 41°, and the latter in 37°. So that the *Arabians*

^a He places *Byzantium* in 43° 5'. *Bityniæ Promontorium* 43° 20'. *Heraclea, Ponti* 43° 10'. *Parthenii Ostia* 43° 10'. *Sinope* 44°. *Halys Ostia* 43° 10'. *Amisus* 43° 6', and *Trapezus* 43° 5'. So that Mr. Greaves (*Philosoph. Transact.* N°. 178) had no Occasion to have Recourse to *Ptolemy's Almagest. Magn.* to prove there is no Error crept into the Text, with Regard to the Latitude of *Byzantium*, since all these Places correspond with it, and particularly *Chalcedon*, which stood over against it, he puts exactly in the same Latitude, viz. 43° 5'.

^b I say in 36° 30', tho' I might have said less; for he places the Middle of *Rhodes* in 35°. *Xanthi Fluv. Ostia* in 36° 0'. *Phaselis* 36° 25', and *Iffus* 36° 25'.

bians make this Part of the *Grand Seignior's* Dominions four Degrees and a half; *Ptolemy*, and by far the greatest Part of the Geographers ever since, two Degrees and a half broader, than in reality it is; which considering the Length of the *Euxine* Sea, *viz.* more than 1000 Miles, is so considerable a Portion of Country, as a superstitious *Mohammedan* could not be easily brought to part with.

I think, I may venture to say, that the *Arabians* are not to be complimented, with having made any great Improvements in Geography. It is probable, the first of them made use of a faulty Copy of *Ptolemy* in laying down the Places abovementioned, or, it may be, instead of $43^{\circ} 5'$, he mistook the Letters, and made it 45° , and the rest followed him without ever enquiring into the Truth. But for *Ptolemy*, who will, I believe be allowed to be the greatest Geographer the World ever produced, to fall into such a Mistake, is very surprizing; when we consider, that *Herodotus* positively affirms, that a Man, prepared for Expedition,

* In *Clio*, Cap. 72.

tion, could go on foot from the *Cilician* Sea to the *Euxine* in five Days. Indeed *Ptolemy* makes a Degree of the Great Circle to consist of but 500 Stadia, and consequently the Breadth of *Asia Minor* (as it is commonly called) will not be increased in proportion to the Number of Degrees, it being according to this Computation, about 400 Miles *English*: But this is a great deal too much, especially as the Country is very mountainous, for a Footman to dispatch in so short a time as five Days.

Strabo, from *Eratosthenes*^d, places the *Sinus Issicus* in the same Parallel with the *Fretum Gaditanum*; which is pretty near the Truth: But then he says again, from *Hipparchus*^e, that *Narbon*, *Massalia*, and *Byzantium* lie under one Parallel. This it is probable^f led *Ptolemy* into the mistake

^d Book 2. In the Beginning.

^e Book 2, page 106, and in other places.

^f There might another Reason be assigned for *Ptolemy's* placing *Byzantium* so far to the Northward, and that is his making a Degree of the Great Circle to consist of but 500 Stadia, whereas in reality it contains very near 605: So that the greater the Distance, the more in Proportion are the Number of Degrees increased: fix of *Ptolemy's* not being quite equal to five of the Great Circle: And thus we find, that the Distance between
Alex-

take above mentioned. The Latitude of *Massalia* had been determined to be about 43, by the Observations of *Pytheas*. He therefore placed *Byzantium* and the Shore of the *Euxine* in the same Latitude, and of consequence made all this Country almost double what it is in reality. Indeed *Strabo* proves afterwards by an ^o odd fort

Alexandria in *Egypt*, the Place of *Ptolemy's* Residence, and *Byzantium*, is in reality about 10 Degrees, the former being in near 31, the latter in 41; whereas *Ptolemy* increasing one Degree in five, has placed *Byzantium* in 43. However as *Hipparchus* in *Strabo* does affirm, that *Byzantium* is by Observation exactly in the same Latitude with *Massalia*; Φησὶ γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λόγον τῷ γνῶμονος πρὸς τὴν σκιάν, ὃν εἶπεν ὁ Πυθίας ἐν Μασσαλίᾳ. And as *Ptolemy* makes them exactly the same, viz. *μγ. 43, 5*. I think it is most probable he was misled by those Authorities. We may from this be convinced how little stress ought to be laid upon the Observations of the Ancients, and how far their Authority is to be relied on, with regard to the Motion of the Poles of the Earth. Mr. *Cassini*, in the *Mém. of the Acad. Royal*, has treated this Subject in a very curious and ample Manner: After which I am surprized how M. *Voltaire*, (*Philosophie de Newton*, cap. 23) could espouse this Opinion of the Poles shifting after the Rate of one Minute in 100 Years; and affirm that the *Aegyptian* Astronomers had made regular Observations of the Heavens for two whole Revolutions of the Poles: Which makes the *Aegyptians* a very ancient Nation indeed; for two Revolutions amount to no less than 4320000 Years. This he gathers from *Herodotus*, who says, that the *Aegyptian* Annals mention the Sun's rising twice in the West. A Consequence this, which nothing but an exalted Genius could have drawn! But we must remember this Gentleman is a Poet, as well as a Philosopher.

* He says, It is allowed by most People, that the Line
 o which

sort of Reasoning that the Parallel of *Byzantium* is much more Northward than that of *Massalia*: Because from *Byzantium* to *Rhodes*, (which lies in the same Parallel with the *Fretum Gaditanum*) he says, is allowed by all, to be 4900 Stadia: But that from *Massalia* to the aforesaid Parallel is not quite 2500. We may presume that *Strabo*, tho' a very cautious and very modest Writer, did not attend to the Words of *Herodotus*; for if he had, he must have concluded, that upon the Supposition of *Hipparchus* and *Eratosthenes*, a Footman could travel in five Days

which is drawn from the Streights of Gibraltar, thro' the Fare of Messina, Athens, and Rhodes, makes all these Places lie under the same Parallel: It is also allowed that this Line (from the Streights to the Fare) passes somewhere very near the middle of the Sea. Now we are assured by Navigators, that the greatest Distance from France (from the Gulph of Lyons) to Africa is no more than 5000 Stadia; and consequently that this is the Breadth of the Mediterranean in the broadest Place. So that from the aforesaid Line to the farther Corner of the Gulph of Lyons, must be 2500 Stadia; and to Massalia somewhat less, because it stands more Southward than the Bite of the Bay. But from Rhodes to Byzantium is 4900 Stadia; so that the Parallel of Byzantium must be a great deal more Northward (πολύ ἀρχικώτερος) than that of Massalia. Png. 115. The Fallacy of this Argument is quickly perceived, by only casting an Eye upon any common Map, where we shall find that the Difference of Latitude between Rhodes and Constantinople, is not four Degrees, that is, not 2500 Stadia, and that the Parallel of the Streights runs into the Coast of Africa.

Days the whole Breadth of *Spain*, that is, from the *Fretum Gaditanum* (the Streights of *Gibraltar*) to the *Mare Cantabrium*, (the Bay of *Biscay*) and upon his own Supposition is much less; either of which a Man of his Intelligence must know to be quite impracticable.

ALL that can be said in this case is, that the greatest Part of the Ancients looked upon *Herodotus*, as an Author, that indulged himself too much in the Privilege of Travellers; and therefore in general seem to give very little Credit to what he advances: tho' Time and Experience have at last convinced the World, that he had a Genius superior to the rest of Mankind; that his Diligence and Veracity were equal to his Genius; and that he, like our Countryman *R. Bacon*, discovered Truths too sublime for the Contemplation of the Age he lived in.

THIS I thought proper to premise, because several modern Map-makers, and^b some late Authors still adhere to *Ptolemy*,

^b Some of these Mr. *Spelman* has followed in note ^b, Book 4, page 269, where he says that *Armenia* lies between

my, in placing *Byzantium* and the *Euxine* two Degrees too far to the Northward. I shall for the future confine myself to the proper Subject of this Dissertation, viz. to the Rout which the *Greek Army* took, in their Expedition to *Babylon*, and in their Return back again.

XENOPHON begins his Account of their March from *Sardes*, the Capital of *Lydia*, because he there joined the Army; but afterwards constantly computes from *Ephesus*, the Sea-Port from whence he began his Journey. They directed their ⁱ March thro' the Middle of the Country; thro' *Lydia*, *Pbrygia*, *Lycaonia*, *Cappadocia*, and ^k *Cilicia*, to the Gates

tween the 40th and 43^d Degrees of Latitude; whereas *Trebisond* lies in 41° 4', so that *Armenia* cannot reach at most to above forty and a half.

ⁱ I shall speak more particularly of this March, when I come to take Notice of M. *Delisle's* Computations.

^k I would recommend the following Passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, to the Consideration of the next Editor of that Author, 'Ο δὲ Κῦρος, ἐπειδὴ διῆλθε τὴν Κιλικίαν, καὶ παραγενήθη πρὸς πόλιν Ἰσσοῦν, ἐπὶ θαλάττης μὲν κυμίνης, ἰσχάτην δ' οὖσαν τῆς Κιλικίας, καταπλευσας εἰς αὐτήν. *Booth* translates it, *Having marched almost through all Cilicia, he took Shipping and arrived at last by Sea at Issus, the utmost City of that Country, near the Sea-side.* Which is indeed a verbal Translation of the *Latin* Version; but how to reconcile it with the Original, or with *Xenophon's* Account of this March, I confess, I cannot tell.

Gates of *Syria*, near the upper End of *Sinus Issicus*.

FROM thence they proceeded to *Myriandrus*, a Sea-Port Town of which no Foot-steps, that I can hear of, at present remain. *Ptolemy*¹ places it 20 Minutes South of *Alexandria penes Issum*, (*Scanderûn*) upon the same Meridian: But whoever casts his Eye upon the Chart of the Bay of *Scanderûn*, will soon perceive this to be impossible; because the Bay lies near the North-East and South-West, and both these Towns stood upon the Shore. All that we can gather from it is, that they were distant from each other 20 of *Ptolemy's* Minutes, *i. e.* 19 *English* Miles; and that therefore *Myriandrus* is to be placed at the Entrance into the Bay, just within the *Scopulus Rhoëticus*, now called, *Ras al Khanzir*.

FROM hence the Army in four Days March made 20 *Parasangas*, (in our Language *Leagues*) and came to the River *Chalus*, very justly by the great *Delisse* sup-

¹ *Alexandria penes Issum* Long. 69° 10', Lat. 36° 10'. *Myriandrus* 69° 10' Lat. 35° 50'. Mr. *Delisse* has placed this Town 15 Minutes to the North of *Alexandrete*.

supposed to be the *Chalib*, or *Alep*, the River of *Aleppo*; because the Name is not only the same, allowing for the different Genius of Languages; but the Distance shews it can be no other. For as *Aleppo* is about 20 small Hours Journey from *Scanderûn*; so it must be something more from *Myriandrus*, which lay near South-West from the latter of those Places; and as there lies a great Bog in the direct Road, which was made passable but of late Years, and which *Cyrus's* Army was to go almost round; we may conclude, that all these put together, must make the Distance from *Myriandrus* to the *Chalus*, 20 *Parasangas*, or *Persian* Leagues. In mentioning the *Chalus*, I cannot but make one Remark, and that is, that it is in one respect very different from what it was formerly. *Xenophon* says, it was full of Fish in his time; and gives a very good ^m Reason for it. *Rauwolf*ⁿ says, there is great Scarcity of Fish at *Aleppo*, tho' the Inhabitants do not esteem them: But the Reason he gives for their Indifference to this sort of Victuals, seems to me

^m Because the Inhabitants of that Country worshipped them as Gods, see Vol. I, page 46.

ⁿ Travels published by *J. Ray*, Part I. c. 8.

me a little extraordinary ; he says, *It is because most of them drink Water instead of Wine.*

FROM the *Chalus*, in five Days March, they made 30 *Parasangas*, and came to the Sources of the River *Daradax*, which *Xenophon* affirms to be 100 Feet broad ; by which we must naturally conclude, that the Army marched along the Bank of it a considerable way ; because we cannot suppose any River in this Country, the Edge of the Desert of *Arabia*, to be 100 Feet in breadth at the Source. What River this was, or what is the present Name of it, is difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine. The *Plethrum*, or Measure of 100 Feet, is but a lax way of reckoning, and might perhaps be applied to Rivers a ° great deal less than 100 Feet in Breadth : as our ^p Measures in modern Times are often applied to Rivers

• Thus we find *Xenophon* applies this Measure of 100 Feet to some of the Rivers of *Cilicia*, which other Authors call no more than Brooks falling from Mount *Taurus* cross a small plain into the Sea.

^p In this manner *Rauwolf* says, the *Euphrates* is half a League broad at *Babylon* ; whereas Sir *Thomas Herbert* says, it is only almost double the Breadth of the *Thames* at *London*. At *Bir*, *Rauwolf* says, 'tis a Mile broad ; *Maundrel*, that it is as broad as the *Thames* at *London*.

Rivers in a very random manner. However, as modern Travellers take no Notice of any such River, we must let it rest as it is, till more satisfactory Discoveries are made in these Parts. What supprizes me most in this very particular Account of their March, is, that our Author takes no Notice of the River, now called ^a *Ephrin*, about half way between the Bay of *Scanderûn* and *Aleppo*; and which the Army must of necessity pass in their March to the East: for it rises in the Mountains above *Korus*, and falls into the Lake of *Antioch*. This River is at least as considerable as the *Chalus*, and much more so, I dare venture to say, than any River between *Aleppo* and the *Euphrates*. This, among a great many others, some of which I shall have occasion to mention in the sequel of this Discourse, does almost prevail upon me to think,

^a *Tavernier* mentions two Rivers between *Alexandretta* and *Aleppo*; over the first, he says, is a *Bridge very long and strongly built*, Book II. cap. 1. But in this he is mistaken, the Bridge and Causeway being laid over the Bog above mentioned; the other he calls *Afrora*, and says, that upon Rains it is not fordable: This is the *Ephrin*, the Fording of which does frequently so much Damage to the Bales of Goods, that our *Turky* Merchants, some Years ago, proposed to build a Bridge over it at their own Expence: But the *Turk* would not consent, and so the Design was dropped.

think, that *Xenophon* kept no Journal, at least no regular one, of this Expedition; but that he drew it up a great many Years afterwards, at his leisure in his Exile, from the several Particulars, which must have made a very strong impression upon his Memory. This will not seem so strange, when we consider, that, in *Xenophon's* Days, Writing was not, what it is in ours; the Materials were not easy to be had, nor were they easy to be carried in such Marches, as they performed.

FROM the Source of the *Daradax*, they marched, in three Days, fifteen *Parasangas* to *Thapsacus* upon the *Euphrates*. This City, tho' nothing at present remains of it but the Name, was formerly a place of great Note: It was the Frontier-Town of the Kingdom of *Israel* in the Days of *David* and *Solomon*; for it is said 1 *Kings* iv. 24. that *Solomon* הוא רדה בכל עבר הנהר מתפסה ועד עזה; בכל מלכי עבר הנהר; that is, *He had Dominion over all on this Side the River, from Thapsakh even to Ngaza, over all the Kings*
on

I shall speak of this more particularly towards the End of this Dissertation.

on this Side the River, viz. the *Euphrates*. Our Translators have rendered them *Tiphsab* and *Azzab*, which puts such a Disguise upon these two noted Cities, that, I dare to say, very few People upon seeing these Names in the Bible, have been able to know them. Such Confusion has the *Pointing* of the *Hebrew* brought into that primitive and sacred Language! *Thapsakh*, in the Original, signifies a *Pass*, or *passing over*, or perhaps in this place more properly a *Ford*: For as in our Nation, there are at present Bridges over most of the Rivers at such Places as end in *Ford*, such as *Oxford*, *Wallingford*, *Hertford*, and the like; yet it is certain that these Names were given them from *fording* the Rivers at those Places before Bridges were built. In like manner it is more than probable, that *Thapsakh* was so called from the *Euphrates* being fordable at that place; because it was a Town of Note in *David's* Time, and consequently must have had its Name long before, in those times of simple Nature, when Ferry-Boats and Bridges of Boats were not invented. *Ptolemy* makes the *Euphrates* fordable

VOL. II. c here,

here, and *Rauwolf*, about the same Place, found the River so full of Shoals, that, though their Boats could draw but little Water, the Navigation was extremely dangerous. And indeed *Menon*, who was a Man of great Cunning, must have drawn this Secret from some-body, else it can scarce be supposed, he would attempt to pass a River, near half an *English* Mile in Breadth, that is, broader than the *Thames* at *Woolwich*. This I have been the more particular in, with a Design to shew what a notable Compliment the Inhabitants of *Thapsacus* paid *Cyrus*, when they told him that the Gods had wrought a Miracle in his Favour, by making the *River*, the *Great River* to submit to his Authority; in as much as it was never known to be fordable before this time.

I cannot here pass without taking Notice of a great Error crept into the Copies of *Strabo*; where speaking of *Alexander's* Design of subduing the *Arabs*, he tells us, *That Great Conqueror*, seeing the *Impossibility* of attacking them by Land, proposed to build a great Quantity of Boats in
Phœ-

Phœnicia and Cyprus, and *transporting them seven Stadia to Thapsacus, to convey them by means of the River to Babylon.* Which makes it not a Mile from the Coast of the Mediterranean to Thapsacus, whereas it must be at least 150. I cannot find that any of the learned Men, who have made their Observations upon this Author, have taken any Notice, much less made any Attempt towards the clearing up, of this Passage.

PLINY, Stephanus of Byzantium, and Lucan affirm, that Alexander passed the Euphrates at Zeugma, (a Place near 230 Miles higher up the River than Thapsacus) contrary to the Authority of all other Historians, and the Nature of the thing itself; for as Alexander was at Tyre in his Return from Egypt, and was to direct

* Book XVI, page 741. *Α νομισθίται εἰς Θάλασσαν, ραδίως ἐντὶ, εἴτε τῷ ποταμῷ κατανομισθῆναι μίχρη Βαβυλωνος. It is certain that Strabo in composing such a Work, as his Geography is, must consult a very great Variety of Authors: And tho' he himself always makes use of the *Stadium* in computing of Distances, yet in transcribing other Writings, he might sometimes be forced to adopt other Terms: for Instance in this place, he might meet with ραδμοῖς ἐντὶ, and put it down so, as not being able to determine the exact Quantity: Which some ignorant Scribe, seeing ραδίως in all other Places made use of, might change, and think he had done his Author great Service.

direct his March towards *Arbela*, it would have been near 400 Miles out of his Way to have gone to *Zeugma*. What might probably lead *Pliny* and the rest into this Mistake, was the Name of the Place: For *Zeugma* was so called, because a Bridge was laid over the *Euphrates* there: And as there was also a Bridge over the *Euphrates* at *Thapsacus*, it might easily lead Authors at so great a Distance into such a Mistake. The Reason Mr. *Hutchinson* gives, viz. that "These Authors must speak of different Expeditions, sounds somewhat strange to me; because it is certain that *Alexander* made but one Expedition against the *Persian*; at least (which is most to our Purpose) that he never passed the *Euphrates* but once in these Parts.

As

* What *Pliny* says, Book V. cap. 26. *Scinditur Euphrates à Zeugmate octoginta tribus millibus passuum; & parte læva in Mesopotamiam, vadit per ipsam Seleuciam, circa eam præfluente infusus Tigri*, is sufficient to persuade us that either there is some Error in the Text, or that *Zeugma*, was a lax Term applied to several places; for *Zeugma*, properly so called, stood somewhere near the place where *Bir* now stands, from whence to the End of the Mountains of *Mesopotamia*, is near 300 Miles; and from thence to the plain Country of *Babylonia*, where this Division most assuredly was, must be above 400 Miles: so that instead of 80, perhaps it should be 800.

" De diversis nimirum Expeditionibus intelligendæ videntur discrepantes auctorum Narrationes. Dissert. page 8.

As to *Ptolemy's* placing *Thapsacus* in *Arabia Deserta*, whereas all other Authors place it in *Syria*, it is but very little material; because tho' it is really within the Limits of *Syria*, yet it stands * in the Desert, which adjoins to *Arabia*. This great Geographer places *Thapsacus* in 35 Degrees of Latitude: But as he puts all the Sea-Coast half a Degree too far towards the South, so I have ventured to place this in 35° 30'.

THE Army having passed the *Euphrates*, marched upon the Banks of it, for the most part: I say, for the most part, because they did not do it constantly; since *Xenophon* tells us, pag. 58. B. 1. that *Some of their Marches were very long, when Cyrus had a mind the Army should go on, till they came to Water or Forage*. Now they cannot be supposed to quicken their Marches for want of Water, while they travelled upon the Bank of so fine a River. We are but little acquainted with the Course of the *Euphrates*, tho' several modern Travellers have failed down it.

It

* The Desert begins two or three Leagues from *Aleppo*. *Tavernier*, Book II. c. 3.

It is probable, that the River makes some great Windings towards the South, where no Man, that is acquainted with the Country, would keep to the Bank of it: One of these *Rauwolf* mentions, ^y which took them up more than half a Day to pass.

STRABO makes the Distance between *Thapsacus* and *Babylon*, following the Course of the *Euphrates* (that is the Rout this Army took) ^z to be 4800 Stadia; and as it is repeated very often, we may depend upon it, there is no Error crept into the Text: And as the *Greeks* in *Alexander's* Time, and for several Years afterwards travelled this Way, the Distance must be very well known. However *Xenophon* in his Account of this March makes it a great deal more, as we shall see by laying the several Numbers together, viz.

From

^y He says, that on the 9th of October they came to a Point called *Eufy*, which took them up more than half a Day to pass. So that if they were above half a Day in reaching the Point, it is probable that the Bent of the River was more than double, and must take them more than a Day to get round; which could not be an inconsiderable Distance, as the Stream was in their Favour.

^z Book II, page 82, &c.

	<i>Parasangas.</i>
From <i>Thapsacus</i> , thro' <i>Syria</i> , to the	
River ^a <i>Araxes</i> , in 9 Days,	50
To the River <i>Masca</i> , unknown to	
modern Writers, in 5 Days,	35
To <i>Pyla</i> , in 13 Days, - - -	90
In <i>Babylonia</i> , 3 Days, - - -	12
March in Order of Battle, <i>p.</i> 80. 1 Day,	3
March with less Circumspection 1	
Day, suppose, - - -	3
It is plain from what is said con-	
cerning the Retreat of <i>Ariceus</i> ,	
after the Battle, <i>p.</i> 104, that up-	4
on the Day of Battle, they had	
marched - - -	

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Which amounts to no less than 5910 *Stadia*: Now if we consider that they were yet a considerable Distance ^b on this side *Babylon*, (*Plutarch* says 500 *Stadia*) we must perceive this Account swelled prodigiously above the Truth. All the Solution that I can pretend to give to

^a This River *Rauwolf* calls *Chabu*, (not observing the Termination) and says there is a Castle named *Sere* at the Mouth of it, *P. II. c. 5*. There was a Castle in this place in the Days of *Julian* the Apostate, which *Zosimus* calls *Circesum*, Book III.

^b *Xenophon* says no less than 3060 *Stadia*, but this I shall speak more particularly to by and by.

to this Difficulty is, that the *Persians* who were the Guides of this Expedition, must mark out the Distances according to their Fancies: That excessive Heat and Hunger are Companions, that make a Journey seem tedious and long; and consequently when their *Persian* Friends told them they had marched so many *Parasangas*, the *Greeks* made no Hesitation to believe them, in order to rest themselves. And indeed if we attentively consider the Marches, as set down in *Xenophon*, we shall find most of them too long for so great an Army to perform, especially as they must have a prodigious Quantity of Carriages along with them, not only to convey their Provisions, but also the Accoutrements of the heavy-armed Men. For instance, from the *Araxes* to the *Masca*, they marched in five Days 35 *Parasangas*, that is, above 24 Miles a Day. From *Masca* to *Pylæ*, they dispatched in 13 Days 90 *Parasangas*, which is very near 24 Miles one Day with another; too much to be performed by an Army of near 120000 Men, in the middle of Summer, in the Latitude of 34, and with such great Num-

Numbers of Attendants, as they must of necessity have along with them.

IN marching thro' the Country of *Babylon*, they came to the Canals which were cut between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, in order, as most Authors agree, to circulate the Waters of the latter, which would otherwise drown all the adjacent Country, when the Snows melt upon the *Armenian* Mountains. *Xenophon* says, these Canals fall out of the *Tigris* into the *Euphrates*; whereas *Strabo* and *Pliny* say the contrary, and *Arrian* goes so far as to affirm, that the Level of the *Tigris* is much lower, than that of the *Euphrates*; so that the Water must necessarily run always one way. Our modern Travellers inform us, that the Country, between these two Rivers, is, in these Parts, rich low Land, something like the Province of *Holland*: So that it is more than probable that these Canals were cut to circulate the Waters of the one River as much as the other; and that as the *Tigris* is by much the most rapid of the two, the Water must come down with greater

* See Mr. *Spelman's* note *, Book I. page 80.

greater fury, and stand in more need of being diverted when it arrived in the level Country. It is worth our Observation, that these two great Rivers could never swell at the same season; because as the Mountains out of which the *Tigris* rises, lie in the South of *Armenia*, and those in which the *Euphrates* has its Source in the North, it is certain that the Snows upon the former must melt sooner, than those upon the latter. Accordingly we find the Author of *Ecclesiasticus* mentions the overflowing of the *Tigris* ^d in the latter End of *March* and Beginning of *April*. And *Pliny* assures us, that the *Euphrates* overflows in ^e *July* and *August*. It might so happen, that the *Greek* or *Roman* Travellers, from whom these Authors could have had their Intelligence, (all Travellers generally choose the Spring to perform long Jour-

^d Chap. xxiv, v. 25. *Pliny* also says, that the *Tigris* overflows in such a Manner, as to run into a River which falls into the *Euphrates*, B. VI, c. 27. Now if it does this in the upper Parts, where its Current is so very swift, as to merit the Appellation of *Arrow*, what can we expect in the lower Country, where the Land is flat, and its Stream more gentle?

^e *Increfcit (nempe Euphrates) flatis diebus, Mesopotamiam inundans, sole obtinente vicesimam partem Cancris: minus incipit in Virgine, Leone transgresso. In totum vero remeat in vicesima nona parte Virginis* B. V. 26.

Journeys in) might not arrive at *Babylon* early enough in the Season to see any thing of the Rise of the *Tigris*. But having spent *March, April, May*, and perhaps *June*, in their Journey, they must find the Channel of the *Euphrates* quite full, and discharging the superfluous Waters with great Rapidity into the *Tigris*; sufficient to persuade any common Observer, that the Level of the former must be above that of the latter. However, had it been so in reality, the *Euphrates* must quickly have forsook his old Course, and in a few Years have joined the *Tigris* by one or more of these Canals: For *Strabo* and modern Observers have assured us, that the Land between these Rivers is fat and very rotten, and consequently must soon have been worn deep and broad enough, to convey any Quantity of Water, which for a constancy could run thro' it. When our Author was in this Country, I find by Computation was towards the latter end of *September*, a Time when both the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* must be very low; and therefore some Art must be used in order to make these Canals so full of Water.

Clearchus, we see suspected to be the Cause (*vide* p. 135.) and no doubt but that he had good Reason for these Suspicions. The *Tigris* was much the smaller River of the two, and consequently the more manageable: It is therefore probable, that they had some Works in it, in order to raise the Water to a proper Height; and that when *Cyrus* approached with his Army, it is likely the King ordered the Country to be laid under Water, as far as they were able to do it, with a Design to retard and harass them as much as possible. This would turn the Water thro' the Canals into the *Euphrates*, and may be the Reason why *Xenophon* differs from other Authors in this particular.

SPEAKING of the Magnitude of the *Euphrates*, puts me in mind of what *Strabo* says of it; where he informs us, that it run thro' the Middle of ancient *Babylon*, and was a Stadium in Breadth, 'Ο γὰρ ποταμὸς διὰ μέσον ῥεῖ τῆς πολέως σταδιαῖος τὸ πλάτος: Which *Calmet*, with the generality of * modern Writers, take for

* *Book XVI*, p. 738.

‡ *Dean Prideaux Connec. Part 1, Book II*, adheres to this

for granted without examining what Difficulties such an Assertion is loaded with. *Xenophon* who forded it himself, affirms, that this River is four *Stadia* broad at *Thapsacus*, above 500 Miles higher than *Babylon*; and all the World is sensible, that Rivers do not grow narrower the further they proceed in their Course. What surprizes me most is, that *Calmet* should fall into this Mistake, when he had *Rauwolf* before him, and quotes him in this very Article, as an Author of considerable Credit. This Writer travelled thro' these Parts near 200 Years ago, and speaking of the Bridge of *Babylon* (some of the Piers of which at this Day remain) says thus; *The Arches of it are built of burnt Brick, and so strong that it is admirable; and that so much the more, because all along the River,*

this Sense of *Strabo*, tho' he quotes *Diodorus Siculus*, who tells us *Book II. That the Bridge of Babylon was five Stadia long.* Now instead of correcting *Strabo* by such an Authority, he gives it this unnatural Turn, viz. that *the Bridge must be a great deal longer than the River was broad:* Tho' he himself has but just before told us, that the Person, who built this Bridge, had banked up the River on each side with Brick, in such a manner as the River could never overflow; so that to make the Bridge five times as long as the Distance between these two Banks, must be a needless, not to say a ridiculous, piece of Work.

ver, as we came from Bir, where the River is a great deal smaller, we saw never a Bridge; wherefore, I say, it is admirable which way they could build a Bridge here, where the River is at least ^hHALF A LEAGUE broad, and very deep besides p. II. c. 7. Sir Thomas Herbert, who had been in these Parts, and it is probable had taken a View of the River hereabouts, who, tho' he falls into a great many ¹Mistakes in Matters of Learning, yet he must be allowed to be a competent Judge in those things that are the Objects of Sense, assures us, that the *Euphrates* at antient *Babylon* was well nigh double the Breadth of the *Thames* at *London*. That *Xenophon* was

^h It must here be observed, that when Travellers mention the Breadth of Rivers, we must not take what they say to be strictly true: they have no Instruments with them to determine Distances; and had they Instruments, the Generality would not know how to make use of them. What *Rauwolf* says in this Place, must be understood as spoken very much at large; half a League being 13 *Stadia*. *Diodorus Siculus*, we have seen, makes the Bridge over it 5 *Stadia*: Now, as a Bridge is by much more easily measured than a River, and as *Xenophon* makes it four *Stadia* at *Thapsacus*, we may suppose that five *Stadia*, a little more than half an *English* Mile, was the Breadth of the *Euphrates* at *Babylon*.

¹ For instance, he tells us that *Ninus* enlarged *Nineveh* the Great upon *Tigris*, formerly called *Nysib* and *Rauhboth*, and since *Mosul*, being indeed rather the Ruins of *Seleucia*. Pag. 226. He also informs us from *Xenophon*, that *Cyrus* had 125 Millions of Pounds when he marched against his Brother *Artaxerxes*. Pag. 249.

was not mistaken in the Breadth of the River at *Thapsacus*, and that there is no Error crept into the Text, we may be convinced from what our ingenious Countryman *Maundrel* says on the same Subject, where he assures us, ^k that a long Bullet-Gun could not shoot a Ball over the *Euphrates* at *Jerabolus*: This I take to be the ¹ ancient *Zeugma*, above 2000 *Stadia*,

^k Journey from *Aleppo* to *Beer*, April 20. where he tells us, that *the River is as broad as the Thames at London*; and that a long Bullet-Gun could not shoot a Ball over it, but it dropt into the Water. By this it appears that it is a great deal broader than the *Thames* at *London*; for a common Fowling-Piece will carry a Ball without any Elevation, more than twice the Breadth of the *Thames* at *Black-wall*. At *London Bridge* the *Thames* is 900 Feet over; now supposing it 100 Feet more at *Black-wall*, will make it 1000, that doubled is 2000, almost $3\frac{1}{2}$ *Stadia*; so that we may conclude this at least to be the Breadth of the *Euphrates* at *Jerabolus*. *Pliny* says, *Book V, cap. 24. Arabiam inde læva, Oreon dictam regionem, trischœna mensura, dextraque Commagenem, determinat (nempe Euphrates.)* *P. Hardouin* observes upon the Place, *Amnem ibi latum esse ait schœnis tribus*. Now *Pliny* assures us, *Book XII, cap. 14.* the *Schœnus* consists of 40 *Stadia*, or 5 *Roman Miles*: So that, according to *Hardouin*, the *Euphrates* must be 14 *English Miles* broad at *Bir*. However, as the Sentence will admit another Construction, we have no Occasion to father such an Absurdity upon *Pliny*. I do not know whether it is worth while to take Notice of a small Mistake or two in *Delisle's Maps*. He makes the *Euphrates* 500 Feet broad; and the Pyramid near *Larissa* upon the *Tigris* 200 Paces high, and 100 Paces square. Whereas *Xenophon* makes the River 4 *Stadia* broad, i. e. 500 Paces, or 2500 Feet; and the Pyramid 100 Feet square, and 200 high.

¹ I conclude so from the many beautiful Ruins found there, and especially from the Remains of a Bridge said to be thereabouts. *Vide Maundrel ubi supra.*

Stadia, or 230 Miles higher up the River than *Thapsacus*. So that if it is so broad at *Jerabolus*, we cannot think four *Stadia* (not quite half a Mile any thing extraordinary for its Breadth at *Thapsacus*.

As to the Situation of *Babylon*, I confess, I can find nothing to determine it with any Exactness. Tho' Astronomical Observations were made there constantly for several Centuries, yet less remains (if less can remain) of these, than of that once so famous City. Mr. *Bedford*^m has reckoned up a great variety of Opinions concerning the Situation of this Place, and at last himself adheres to one of the worst. He quotes three of the principal *Arabians*, who, it is highly probable, had every one of them been upon the Spot, and made some sort of Observation to determine the Latitude: For as they differ among themselves, they could not copy from any that went before, nor from one another; and as the Difference is but very small, it might be owing to the Inaccuracy of their Instruments. But he chooses to forsake these, and follow *Bochart*,

^m Scripture Chronology, Book I. cap. 1.

chart, who places it "almost a whole Degree further to the North. As to the Longitude, he, again from *Bochart*, makes it $77^{\circ} 46'$. which is a great deal too much: For as the Longitude of *Scanderûn* has been determined "to be $55^{\circ} 25'$. so upon the foregoing Supposition, the Meridian Distance between *Babylon* and *Scanderûn* must be $22^{\circ} 21'$. which upon a little Examination, will be found very much to exceed the Truth. For Instance, from *Scanderûn* to *Aleppo*, is not 60 Miles; which, considering the winding of Roads, and the Difference of Latitude, cannot exceed one Degree. From *Aleppo* to *Thapsacus*, *Xenophon* makes 45 *Parasangas*, which upon this Parallel, the Difference of Latitude above one Degree, cannot make above $2\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees. From *Thapsacus* to *Babylon* was 4800 Stadia, following the Course of the *Euphrates*: Now, allowing for the Difference of Latitude,

and

" The *Arabians* place it $33^{\circ} 20'$. *Bochart* in $34^{\circ} 15'$.

• The *French* place *Paris* in 20° Long. and therefore *Mr. Delisle* makes the Longitude of *Alexandretta* to be but $54^{\circ} 15'$. However, as we reckon *London* 19° . East from *Ferro*, and *Paris* $2^{\circ} 25'$, from *London*; and as *Mr. Chazelles* found the Meridian Distance between *Paris* and *Scanderûn* to be $2^h 16'$, i. e. 34° , so the true Longitude of *Scanderûn* is $55^{\circ} 25'$.

and Bending of the River, we will suppose ^p *Babylon* more to the East by 300 Geographical Miles, (and this I am persuaded will be thought too much) which being reduced, will be found to be 6 Degrees. So that the Meridian Distance between *Scanderûn* and *Babylon*, cannot upon any reasonable Calculation be supposed more than ^q $9\frac{1}{2}$ Degrees, which added to the Longitude of *Scanderûn*, makes $64^{\circ} 55'$. the Longitude of *Babylon*. *Bochart* therefore has placed this City no less than 13 Degrees too far to the East. As for the *Arabians*, *Eachard*, &c. they followed

Ptole-

^p This way of reckoning is in some Measure confirmed by *Josephus Antiq.* VIII, c. 6, where he says, that *Thadomira* (that is *Palmyra*) was one Day's Journey from the *Euphrates*, and six from *Great Babylon*: Here, by Day's Journey, is meant the Horseman's Journey, or 60 Miles: So that from the *Euphrates* over-against *Palmyra* to *Babylon* is 300 Miles: But *Thapsacus* stands somewhat more to the West than this part of the *Euphrates*; that is, the Course of the River is S. and by E. and S. S. E. so that 300 Geographical Miles must be pretty near the true Meridian Distance between *Thapsacus* and *Babylon*. *Pliny* indeed affirms, *Book V*, cap. 25, that from *Palmyra* to *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris* is 337 Miles; but as other Copies say 537, I must leave it to the Decision of the Critics.

^q Mr. *Delisle* makes the Distance between *Babylon* and *Scanderûn*, to be pretty near equal to that between *Scanderûn* and *Smyrna*. Now the Meridian Distance of the two latter of these Places is by Observation found to be 9 Degrees: So, as the Difference of Latitude is not material, upon this Computation the Difference of Long. between *Scanderûn* and *Babylon* is 9 Degrees.

Ptolemy, and as he had for the most part, nothing but Imagination to determine the Longitude of Places by, it is not to be wondered at, if he generally does it in a manner very wide from the Truth.

AFTER the ' Battle, and the Death of *Cyrus*, the *Greeks*, tho' victorious, had no hope left, but that of getting back again to their own Country: But to effect this was a matter of considerable Difficulty. To return by the same way they came, was impossible, because all their Provisions were spent, and they were to march thro' the Deserts of *Arabia*: And they want-

^r *Plutarch* (in *Artax.*) speaking of the Loss of this Battle, lays all the Blame upon *Clearchus*, for not, according to *Cyrus's* Order, bringing his *Greeks* to front the King's Centre: But I think the Conduct of *Clearchus* may be easily vindicated. This General very well knew, from the Mock-Encounter at *Tyriæum*, what was to be expected from the rest of *Cyrus's* Forces, viz. that they would run away at the first Onset, and himself with his handful of *Greeks* be left alone to encounter with the King's Army. A handful they might be called with the greatest Propriety, being 13000 against 1200000, (for so many the King's Army was supposed to consist of.) *Clearchus* therefore kept close to the River, with a Design not to be surrounded by such prodigious Numbers; which, had it happened at the beginning of the Battle, before the *Greeks* had tried the *Persian* Metal, might have disheartened his Men, and lost the Day. Had *Cyrus* relied upon *Clearchus's* Promise, (viz. that all should go well) and waited patiently for the Event, all had gone well, he had won the Day, and been King of *Persia*.

wanted Guides to shew them another Road. At last they entered into a Truce with the King, one of the Conditions of which was, that he should conduct them safe to their own Country. The Officers sent by the King to perform this, led them thro' the Middle of *Babylonia*, a Country intersected with Canals and Ditches kept full of Water, in order to convince the *Greeks* that all Endeavours to arrive at *Babylon* must be in vain, if the People of the Country were their Enemies. I am far from being of Mr. *Spelman's* Opinion, where he supposes the Distance mentioned by *Xenophon* between the Field of Battle and *Babylon*, 3060 Stadia, to be a Mistake of the Transcriber. The *Persians*, without doubt, persuaded them the Distance was so great, and led them thro' the Country with a Design to convince them, that whoever should attempt to march thither, must be entirely discouraged and baffled by the many Difficulties he would meet with. They were no strangers, it is likely, to *Daniel's* Prophecies, which were wrote in their Capital and in their Language; and which plainly foretold that

that their Empire should be overturned by the *Greeks*. This they might endeavour to avert by such Arts as I have mentioned; with a Design that if any of these Soldiers should get back again to *Greece*, (which however they did all in their Power to obstruct) they should spread such an Account among their Countrymen of the Difficulties they had met with, as should for the future put a stop to all undertaking of this kind. There can no other Reason, I believe, be assigned for conducting them to *Sitace*: For it was entirely out of their Way, and they must pass * by *Babylon* to arrive at it. This Town stood near the *Tigris*, and Part of the Province of *Babylon* was from it called *Sitacene*. *Strabo* says, the Road from *Babylon* to *Susa* lay thro' it. Now, as *Susa* was near S. E. from *Babylon*, *Sitace* must lie beyond *Babylon* from hence, at the Distance of 500 *Stadia*, as the same Author informs us. *Xenophon* confirms this, by making it 20 *Parasangas*, or 600 *Stadia* from *Sitace* to *Opis*, a large trading Town upon the *Tigris* about the Place where *Bagdat* now stands.

FROM

* I suppose here that they were conducted to the Left towards the *Tigris*, and not suffered to pass within sight of *Babylon*.

FROM *Opis* the Army marched up the *Tigris*, till they arrived at the Mountains of the *Carduchians*, at present called the *Curdes*, the same untractable People, and shew the same Regard to Travellers they did to these *Greek* Wanderers. They strole about upon the Mountains from hence as far as the Springs of the *Euphrates*, and plunder every one they meet with, that is weaker than themselves. They will be under no sort of Government, and pay as little Respect to the *Turk*, who pretends to be their Master, as their Forefathers did to the Kings of *Persia*. In all this Tract, I can find very little for a Geographer to exercise himself upon. If *Rauwolf* had *Xenophon's Anabasis* along with him, or the Contents of it fresh in his Memory, he might have made several Remarks, which would have given great Light into our Author; for he travelled over the same Ground from *Bagdat* to these Mountains.

IT took up the Army seven Days to cross this inhospitable Country, wherein they suffered more than from all the great Armies of the *Persian*. At last they came

came to the *Centrites*, a River which, in those Days, served as a Boundary between the *Curdes* and *Armenia*. *Monf. Delisle* has made this River run Eastward, and fall into the 'Lake of *Van*. I have ventured to turn its Course Westward; because I take it to be a Branch of the *Lycus*, which, when it falls into the *Tigris*, is so very considerable a River, that *Rauwolf* ^u says, is at least a long Mile broad, and must come out of this Country from the East; for had it come from the North, the *Persians*, after the Rout at ^{*} *Arbela*, would have been under no necessity of running such Risks in attempting to pass it. Besides, we ought to reflect, that in these seven Days the *Greeks* could not have travelled more than 70 Miles, considering the many Obstructions they met with in the Country of the *Carduchians*; and that as the Course of the *Tigris* is in these

^{*} He does not indeed give it any Name in his Maps of this Expedition, but in his other Maps he makes it the Lake of *Van*.

^u *Part II. cap. 9.* This must be understood with some Allowance: *Rauwolf* assures us, he was in very great Fear while he forded this River, and therefore might think it four or five times bigger than in reality it is.

^{*} This Place is still known by the Name of *Harpel*. *Rauwolf*, *ubi sup.*

these Parts from the N. W. and the Course of the Army to the North, they could not be 50 Miles from the *Tigris*, at the Place where they crossed the *Centrites*. This River was not a very small one; *Xenophon* makes it 200 Feet broad, and consequently if it runs towards the East, must rise at least 30 Miles toward the West; and then what room can we find for the Rise and Progress of so large a River as the *Lycus*, which must drain the East for a considerable Distance?

FROM hence the Army marched over the Plains of *Armenia* to the River *Teleboas*, which *Monf. Delisle* in his 'Dissertation and Map, in the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, intirely overlooks, and passes from the ^z Head of the *Tigris*

^y Entitled, *Determination Geographique de la Situation & de l'Etendue de Pays traverses, &c.* in the Memoirs of the Acad. Royal An. 1721. p. 56.

^z Mr. *Delisle* brings *Herodorus* to prove, that there were in these Parts three Rivers of the Name of *Tigris*. This he does in order to shew, that the *Greeks* did not approach near the Head of the *Tigris* properly so called, viz. that which flows by *Diarbekir*; but supposes it the most easterly Branch. However, he might have saved himself a good deal of Trouble, had he attended to *Xenophon's* Words, who does not say they passed the Head of the *Tigris*, or were near it; but only, that they were now advanced above it. Vol. I. p. 268.

Tigris to the *Euphrates*, without taking any Notice of, or laying down any River between them: However, in his large Map published in the Year 1723, entitled, *Retraite de Dix Mille*, he has rectified this Mistake, and laid down the *Teleboas* as an Arm of the most easterly Branch of the *Euphrates*, which Mr. *Delisle* has discovered from *Ptolemy*, to rise 50 Leagues to the Winter East of the Springs above *Ertzrum*, and which he makes the *Greeks* pass just at the Fountain. So that their passing of this Branch of the *Euphrates*, must be more to the Eastward by at least two Degrees than the Meridian of *Ertzrum*: But how little this squares with the Situation of these Countries, a small Degree of Reflection will convince us. We have seen above, that, upon the most favourable Calculation, the Longitude of *Babylon* cannot be more than $64^{\circ} 55'$. After the Battle the *Greeks* travelled upon the Banks of the *Tigris*, till they came to the *Carduchian* Mountains: Now, as the Course of this River is from the N. W. and W. N. W. so they must diminish the Longitude considerably by this long March, *Delisle's* Map makes it 3 Degrees;

so that they entered the *Carduchians* Country in Longitude $61^{\circ} 55'$. But the Royal Academy of Sciences, of which Mr. *Delisle* was Geographer, places *Ertzrum* ^a in $68^{\circ} 45'$, so that the Sources of the *Euphrates*, which Mr. *Delisle*, from *Ptolemy*, places 50 Leagues S. E. of *Ertzrum*, must be at least in $70^{\circ} 45'$ Longitude. Upon this Supposition therefore, the *Greeks* in travelling three Degrees of Latitude, for so much Mr. *Delisle* makes it from their entering the *Carduchians* Country to their fording the *Euphrates*, must deviate to the East no less than 9 Degrees; which is quite incredible, especially as *Xenophon* himself tells us; and Mr. *Delisle* repeats his Words, that their Course was North.

Again;

^a This places *Ertzrum* farther to the East, than any Geographer, I can meet with, will allow: I am surprized that neither Mr *D'Anville*, nor the *English* Editor of *Du Halde's China in Folio*, take any Notice at all of this Circumstance, in determining the Situation of the *Caspian* Sea. The greatest Longitude they are willing to allow to *Astrakhan*, is but $68^{\circ} 55'$, very little more than this of *Ertzrum*: Whereas there must be at least four Degrees difference between them. Observations are material Evidences in Geography. The *Acad. Royal* An. 1699, assures us, these Situations were grounded upon Observations. How therefore this Article could slip the Notice of Persons so much interested in the Discovery of it, is to me very surprizing. Not but that I have Reasons (to my self very strong ones) to think that those Places are not situated so far to the East: However, as there is no reasoning against Facts, I desist.

Again, let us view this Affair in another Light: *Tournefort* informs us, (Vol. II. Let. 6.) that from *Ertzrum* to *Aleppo* is 35 Days Journey; and *Tavernier* (Book II. c. 4.) that from *Bir* to *Mousul* is but 15 Days Journey. Now as *Bir* is in the Road from *Aleppo* to *Ertzrum*, or very near it, and ^b 4 Days Journey from *Aleppo*, so it will be 31 Days Journey from *Bir* to *Ertzrum*. *Bir* is in Lat. $37^{\circ} 10'$. *Ertzrum* in $39^{\circ} 56' 35''$, and *Mousul* in about $35^{\circ} 30'$, So that *Ertzrum* is more to the Northward, with respect to *Bir*, than *Mousul* is to the Southward by $1^{\circ} 6' 35''$, for which we must allow 5 Days Journey; therefore *Ertzrum* is more to the East than *Monsul* by 11 Days Journey. But Mr. *Delisle* makes the *Greeks* enter the *Carduchian* Mountains a little 'to the West of *Mousul*; and consequently as they travelled North, must pass the *Euphrates* a great deal to the West of *Ertzrum*: Whereas he has laid down their

^b *Tavernier* says, it is 4 Days Journey for the Horse-Caravan; but then I imagine he must reckon the passing of the River into the Time. *Book II. cap. 4.*

^c This cannot be; because had they advanced up the *Tigris* as far as *Mousul*, they must have passed the *Lycus*, which, as it is larger than any River they passed after the *Tigris*, *Xenophon* must have taken Notice of it.

their Rout above 200 Miles to the East of *Ertzrum*. Mr. *Delisle* tells us of one M. *Duval*, formerly Geographer to the King of *France*, who drew a Map of this Expedition, and laid down the Countries as best suited his own Notions without any Regard to their true Dimensions; by which he doubled the *Persian* Dominions, and made *Asia Minor* to contain 1500 square Leagues instead of 600. How much Mr. *Delisle* has succeeded better, we have in some measure seen above. He quotes P. *Beze's* Authority for the Latitude of *Trebisond*, but says not one Word about the Longitude: The Reason of this seems to me to be, that if he had, it would have overfet his whole Scheme. He places *Babylon* in 62° Long. the Royal Academy places *Trebisond* in 65° Long. so that had the Places been laid thus down, and the Rout of the Army made somewhere towards the North, they must have arrived ^d at the *Euxine* a good deal to the West

^d Especially if we allow, as above, 3 Degrees for their westing on the Banks of the *Tigris*. There is in *Xenophon* one material Article not taken Notice of by Mr. *Delisle*, and that is, that where they crossed the River *Teleboas*, the Country was called the *Western Armenia*: Which Name would but ill suit with the Country 200 Miles East of *Ertzrum*.

West of *Trebisond*. In order to remedy this, he has laid down *Trebisond* in 57° , and *Ertzrum* in 58° ; has made the 10000, from the *Carduchian* Mountains, steer a N. N. E. Course: So that when they came into *Georgia*, they turned to their Left, and travelling afterwards near 300 Miles due West, arrived at *Trebisond*. Whereas had the *Black Sea* been extended to its due Length, the *Greeks* must have arrived at the Shore of it where he places *Taochir*, the Place where he makes them turn to the Left.

I think I may venture to say that Mr. *Delisle* is equally unhappy in his Guesses, with respect to the ancient Measures of the *Greeks*. He compares the Distances of Places, mentioned by *Xenophon*, with their true Distance determined by Astronomical Observations. *Xenophon* makes the Distance between *Ephesus* and the Gates of *Syria* near equal to that between the Gates of *Syria* and *Babylon*. Modern Ob-

Arrian, who measured the *Euxine*, makes it from the Mouth of the *Thracian Bosphorus* to *Trebisond* 7035 *Stadia*; that is, about 805 Miles *English*. *Tournefort* does not always mention the Distances; but by what he says, we may gather he made it about 800 Miles; whereas *Tavernier* makes it 970 Miles, and *Gimelli* 900.

Observers have discovered, that from *Smyrna* (near *Ephesus*) to *Scanderûn* (near the Gates of *Syria*) is pretty near equal to the Distance of *Scanderûn* from *Bagdat* (near ancient *Babylon*.) 'The same, he tells us, may be said of their Return from *Babylon* to *Trapezus*: But that comparing these Distances together, he concludes, that the Measures of the antient *Greeks* were much smaller than we suppose them; that a *Stadium* in *Xenophon's* Days was but about half so much as it was in the times of the *Romans*. He supposes, that in antient Times they made use of a common Pace in the Mensuration of Land, which is no more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ Feet; whereas afterwards the Pace was double, *i. e.* 5 Feet. He says, what confirms him in this Opinion is, the Quantity of a Degree determined by *Aristotle*, who says in his Book *De Cælo*, that the Circumference of the Earth is 400000 *Stadia*, which being reduced, gives $1111\frac{1}{3}$ to each Degree.

' His Meaning is, that upon his Supposition it agrees pretty well with modern Observations; *i. e.* from *Babylon* to *Trebisond* is about half so much as *Xenophon* makes it.

' One Step, or common Stride in walking; whereas the Pace was the Return of the same Foot, or two Strides.

Degree. However, upon Examination, we cannot find that *Aristotle* ever determined the Quantity of a Degree, or that it was at all determined in his Days. He is in this Book speaking of the Smallness of the Body of the Earth, plainly discoverable from the different Elevations of the Stars at different Places, not far distant from each other; where he says, ^b *That all the Mathematicians who have attempted by Reasoning to discover the Earth's Circumference, affirm that it is 400000 Stadia.* All we can gather from hence is, that comparing the different Elevations at several Places together, they made a Guess at the Earth's Periphery. *Strabo* seems to intimate, that *Eratosthenes* was the first who applied celestial Observations to determine the Magnitude of the Earth; and ⁱ *Mr. Cassini* is positive in this Opinion. However, we will suppose

^b Καὶ τῶν μαθηματικῶν ὅσοι τὸ μέγεθος ἀναλογίζεσθαι πειρῶνται τῆς περιφέρειας, εἰς τετραράκοντα λέγουσι εἶναι μυριάδας σταδίων. Which cannot be understood that any one had actually measured the Contents of a Degree; but only that they had guessed at the whole by *Computation* or *Reckoning*.

ⁱ Acad Royal, Anno 1794. *Pliny* calls this Undertaking of *Eratosthenes*, *Improbum ausum*; but adds, *Verum ita subtili Argumentatione comprehensum, ut pudeat non credere.* Book II. c. 108.

pose that *Aristotle* did determine the Quantity of a Degree to be $1111\frac{1}{3}$ of the *Stadia* of his Time, and that *Eratosthenes* discovered it to contain 700 of his Time, it will then of consequence follow, that between the Days of *Aristotle* and *Eratosthenes*, the *Greek* Measures were changed in the same Proportion as $1111\frac{1}{3}$ bears to 700, which is a Supposition that will hardly be allowed, when we consider, that from the Death of the one to the Birth of the other was little more than * 40 Years. Besides, if this Method of Arguing is to take place, there would be no end of altering the Measures of Antiquity. *Xenophon* makes it from *Thapsacus* to the Place of Battle 5910 *Stadia*, which with the 500 mentioned by *Plutarch*, makes the Distance from *Thapsacus* to *Babylon* 6410 *Stadia*. But in *Aristotle's* Time, i. e. at *Alexander's* Expedition, about 70 Years after *Xenophon* was in this Country, it was found to be 4800; so that the Stadium must be increased near one fourth in this space of Time.

IT

* *Aristotle* died in the 114th Olympiad, and *Eratosthenes* was born in the 126th.

IT is very unlucky for Mr. *Delisle's* Hypothesis, that the ancient *Greeks* never made use of such a Measure as the *Pace*, or had any such Term, that I can find: All their Measures were by the *Foot*, and by such Compositions of it, as are very well known, such were the *Fathom*, 6 Feet; *Plethrum*, 100; and *Stadium* 600. This last was their longest Measure, and therefore they always compute large Distances by it. When the *Greek Foot* was first fixt, is like the beginning of most other things, I believe, quite unknown; but to be sure, a great many Centuries before the Times we are treating of. And when the Standard-Measure of any Nation is once fixt and becomes current, it is not only needless, but extremely difficult, afterwards to alter it. Perhaps nothing less than the total Destruction of a People, or an universal Change of Customs can effect this. But suppose for Argument's sake, we allow that the *Greeks* had such a Measure as the *Pace*, and that originally this *Pace* contained $2\frac{1}{2}$ Feet, but afterwards was disused, and the geometrical *Pace*, that of five Feet, took place: yet how could

this affect the *Stadium*, which contained 600 of such Feet as the *Pace* was composed of? As the Foot was the Foundation of both, so they could have no Influence the one upon the other. Indeed had the *Stadium* been composed of a determinate Number of *Paces*, as the *Roman Mile* was, Mr. *Delisle*'s Argument would have had some Shew of Reason in it, some Probability to support it: But to apply two sorts of *Paces*, which consisted of different Numbers of *Feet*, to the *Stadium* which consisted of a determinate Number of *Feet* of the same Length, is such an Impropriety, as I am surprized so sagacious a Person, as Mr. *Delisle* most assuredly was, should fall into.

BUT it may be answered that the Difficulty still remains. If *Xenophon*'s Measures are applied to the true Distances, determined by Astronomy, they will be found double: For from *Ephesus* to the Gates of *Syria*, is made to be about 8000 Stadia; whereas its real Distance is not 5000. To this it may be replied, that great Armies with such Numbers of Carriages as they must always have with them,

them, cannot go the nearest Way; they must observe the Disposition of Mountains and Rivers, and call at Towns a good Distance from the direct Road upon the Account of Provisions. This was undoubtedly the Case of the Army before us, which if joined to what I said above about their *Persian* Guides, may give a tolerable Account why the Distances are so magnified, in their March from *Ephesus* to *Babylon*. But in their Return the Case is very different: At this time they reckoned for themselves, and if we take the Distance from *Opis* (near which *Bagdat* now stands) to their passing the *Euphrates* below *Ertzrum*, we shall find, allowing for their Course Westward along the Bank of the *Tigris*, I say we shall find it correspond pretty near with the Astronomical Observations.

WHEREABOUTS they passed the *Euphrates*, I cannot take upon me to say; but we have seen above, that it must be considerably to the West of *Ertzrum*, below the Junction of its

¹ two Branches; for had they passed two Rivers by the Name of *Euphrates*, *Xenophon* would certainly have taken Notice of it. Indeed he says the Springs of this River were not far off; but he speaks not of his own Knowledge, and *ἐ' πρόσω* is an intermediate Expression, which does not at all fix the Distance; besides, the River was so deep, that it reached up to their Middle, which is very considerable, as it was in the Depth of Winter, the Snow lay upon the Ground, and consequently

¹ I cannot pass without taking Notice of a Mistake in *Tournefort*: who says, *Vol. II. Let. 6.* that one of these Branches runs a Day's Journey to the South of *Ertzrum*, the other a Day and a half, or two Days Journey to the North of it: Whereas he has told us but just before, that the Bridge of *Elijah* is but about six Miles from *Ertzrum*. It is well known, that in the East, great Distances are measured by Days Journeys; small Ones by Hours: It is therefore probable, that in discoursing about the Country, he was told it was so many Hours Journey; Which he put down *Journé*, without distinguishing it from a Day's Journey. *Calmet* says, that *Strabo* and *Pliny* differ from each other almost in every thing concerning the *Euphrates*. For that *Pliny* represents it first running to the South, and then to the West; whereas *Strabo* affirms, that it first runs West, and then South. However, upon Examination, I believe, they will be found to agree exactly; and that *Calmet* has mistaken *Pliny's* Meaning. This great Naturalist, *B. V. c. 24.* compares Mount *Taurus* and the *Euphrates*, to two great Champions, contending with each other: That the Mountain, tho' 12 Miles broad, is not able to stop the River; but however, prevails so far, as not to suffer it to have its Way, but diverts it to the South, whereas before its Course was Westward.

quently could be supplied with no Water, but from Springs.

FROM the *Euphrates* they proceeded still North for three Days. We are certain that their Course was North, because our Author informs us, that ἀνεμος βορρᾶς ἐναντίος ἔπνευ, viz. that *the North Wind blew full in their Faces*, in so fierce a manner as to scorch and benumb the Men. Now had they not thought themselves under a Necessity of travelling North, they would never have chose to face so terrible a Wind as this. They still proceeded one Day farther; we must naturally conclude towards the same Point of the Compass: And then put themselves under the Conduct of the Bailiff of the Village.

AND here we meet with the greatest Difficulty in the whole Book. ^m*Ertzrum* is but five Days Journey from the *Euxine*; and the *Greeks* where they passed the *Euphrates* could not be much farther from it. We have seen they marched to the Northward 3 Days 15 Parasangas; and ano-

another Day, the Distance not mentioned, (suppose 5 Parasangas) which amount to above 60 Miles : So that they must be at this time half-way to the Coast of the *Black Sea*. Infomuch that, had they kept still on in the same Course, they must in 3 or 4 Days more have arrived at *Cerazunt*, *Trebisond*, or somewhere thereabouts. But, instead of this, we find they made it no less than 45 Days march, and several of these very long ones, before they came to *Trebisond*. This is very surprizing, and the more so, when we consider, that from the Sources of the *Euphrates* to the Banks of the *Caspian*, is not more than 13 Days Journey. So that these Wanderers were enclosed between the *Euxine*, the *Caspian*, the *Euphrates*, and Mount *Caucasus* : And how they could make such Marches for forty-five Days together, in this space, is, I confess, entirely beyond my Comprehension.

WE find after the Battle, when the *Greeks* were without Guides, that they directed themselves " by the Sun ; and
Xeno-

Xenophon in his Speech to the Army, in the fifth Book (*Vol. II. p. 60.*) plainly shews, that they understood their Compasses well enough to know the four principal Points. How therefore they could be so prodigiously misled, is very strange. However we must remember, that in After-times when these Parts were better known, *Artavafdes* the King of this Country, abused *Anthony* ° by misleading him. We must consider also, that when the *Greeks* were in this Country it was the Middle of Winter, my Account makes it *January*, and that these Countries are at this time of the Year extremely subject to Fogs; so that they might not see the Sun for several Days together: And consequently the old Bailiff, like a true Subject of the King of *Persia*, might take such an Opportunity to mislead them, in order to distress and destroy them. It is highly probable it was this that made him run away, and leave his Son behind him: ° For had he done his Duty, it is not

° *B. XI. p. 524.* Where he says, he led him round about more than double the direct Way, ἐποίησε πλείον ἢ διπλασίαν τῆς εὐθείας, διὰ ὄρων, καὶ ἀνοδιῶν, καὶ κυκλοπορείας.

° That is, had he conducted them to Towns where they could get Provisions. But instead of this, he carried them

not at all likely, that he would have left his Son in such Circumstances. He might have some Ambition in him, though his Estate was but low; though he was but the Superior of a ^a *Troglodyte* Village, yet he might hope that the sacrificing of a Son might raise him to the Government of a Province; as we see great Numbers of Garreteers among us, who think themselves qualified to be at least Ministers of State.

AFTER the *Greeks* had lost their Guide, they marched 7 Days 35 *Parafangas* and arrived at the *Phasis*. This Mr. *Delisle* strives ¹ to prove is the *Araxes*.
But

them into desolate Countries where he concluded they must of course be starved; where the first People they could meet with were the *Taochians* and *Chalybians*, who kept all their Provisions in such Fastnesses, as the Bailiff might imagine it was impossible for them to force. And indeed he was not much mistaken in his Aim; for had they not with great Courage, and no small Address stormed the *Taochian* Mountain, it is more than probable, they had every one perished with Hunger.

^a The Villages of this Country do retain the same Form to this day: *Gimelli*, P. I. B. 3. c. 3. tells us, He was in dispute with himself, whether to call the Houses *Caves* or *Stables*; for they are dug out of the Earth: 'That the Roofs are upon a Level with the Surface of the Earth; and that the Men and Beasts lodge together in them.'

¹ The Main of his Argument consists in this, that *Constantine Porphyrogenetes* says, that the *Phasis* run near *Theodosiopolis*,

But by what is said above, it is quite improbable they could deviate so far to the East. And to suppose they came to the *Araxes*, after they had passed the *Euphrates*, is still more unlikely; because these two Rivers rise out of the same Mountain, about 'fix Miles distant from each other; the *Euphrates*, runs West, and the *Araxes* East, and then South-East. Now, as the *Greeks* had passed the *Euphrates*, and travelled Northward four Days, they must have left the *Araxes* so far behind them, that it is very unlikely they could ever come back again to it. I would rather for the present, till this Country is better discovered, suppose it to be the noted *Colchian Phasis*. *Strabo* affirms, that this River has its Source in *Ar-*

doispolis, that it parted his Empire from *Iberia*, and was likewise called *Erax*. Now *Theodospolis* stood near the Place where *Ertzrum* now stands; and therefore if the *Colchian Phasis* rises somewhere in this Country, and flows North, it would run as near that City as the *Araxes* could do, and would naturally serve as a Boundary between *Iberia* and the *Greek Empire*. As to the Name, it proves very little, for as *Aras* signifies a Rapid Stream, the *Persians* applied it to a great many Rivers.

* *Pliny* Book VI. cap. 9. says, *Araxes eodem monte oritur, quo Euphrates* VI. *Mill. Passuum intervallo*. Which is confirmed in some measure by *Tournefort*, who tells us, Vol. II. L. 7. that the *Araxes* runs by *Affancala*, which is but six Hours from *Ertzrum*.

Armenia, 'Φάσις μέγας ποταμός ἐξ Ἀρμενίας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων. *Dionysius* the Geographer says,

————— Φάσις
 Ἀρξάμενος τὸ πρῶτον ἀπ' ἑσέος Ἀρμενίου.

So that the Ancients, who knew these Countries much better than we do, gave the *Phasis* a very different Rise to what is assigned it by the Moderns, placing its Source in the Mountains of *Armenia*, probably, by what they say of its long Course, not at a great Distance from the Fountains of the *Euphrates* and *Araxes*, especially as *Dionysius* calls it, the *Armenian Mountain*, out of which the *Euphrates* rises.

THIS will appear still the more probable, if we seriously attend to what *Moses* says in his Description of *Paradise*, *Gen. ii. v. 10*, &c. where he informs us, that a River proceeded out of *Ngeden* to water the Garden; and there פַּרְדֵּי, in that Place, i. e. in the Garden it was divided and became into four Heads פַּרְדֵּי אַרְבָּע, *Capita*, as the *Latin* accurately expresses it: The

Name

ⁱ *B. X. p. 498.* and again *B. XI. p. 529.* he says, Ποταμοὶ δὲ πλείους μὲν εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ· γνωριμώτατοι δὲ Φάσις μὲν καὶ Λύκος.

Name of the first Phisun, which encompasses the whole Country of ^a Khoilh, (for so it is written in the Original, or perhaps Khoilkb,) where there is Gold, and the Gold of that Country is good; there is also the ברהל and the Stone שם. All which particulars, viz. the Name of the River, for Phisun and Phasis are very near the same, the Name of the Country, and the Products of it, do plainly point out the Colchian Phasis, we are now treating of. The Ancients are so full of the Colchian Gold, that it would be endless to quote all they say upon this Subject. The bare mentioning the Argonautic Expedition (whether real or fictitious) will be sufficient to persuade any one that Colchis was formerly noted for the best Gold: What Pliny ^x says of it may convince us, that the Character Moses gives of it is just, where he tells us, that the Gold of that Country is good. As to the ברהל it is supposed

^a I can find nothing to convince me, that the Hebrews ever used the ך as a Consonant. The ך pronounced soft, as some European Nations, do at present, supplied the Place of V. Thus תובל קין Thubal Cain is Vulcan; שבע Shebang is seven, and the like. The ך is, I imagine, the Waw, the o or u of the East, and is always used as a Vowel.

^x B. xxxiii. c. 3.

posed by the most learned Writers, both Jews and Christians, to signify *Crystal*, and יהלום *Emeralds*; both which the Ancients make *Scythia*, the Country about *Phasis*, famous for. *Solinus*¹ informs us, that *though Crystal was the Produce of several Parts of Europe, and some Places in Asia, yet that of Scythia was the most valuable.* And *Pliny* mentions the Emeralds of *Scythia* in such strong Terms, that I must beg leave to transcribe his Words, it not being an easy matter to translate them. ² *Nobilissimi Scythici, ab eâ gente, in qua reperiuntur, appellati: nullis major austeritas, nec minus vitii: & quantum Smaragdi a ceteris gemmis distant, tantum Scythici a ceteris Smaragdis.*

IT may be objected against what I have here said, that it is entirely improbable four Rivers should have the same Source, and that accordingly these four, which I suppose the Rivers of Paradise, viz. the *Phasis*, the *Aras*, the *Tigris*, and the *Pbrat*, have their Sources at a con-

sider-

¹ C. xv. speaking of *Scythia*, *Istic & Crystallus, quem licet pars major Europæ & particula Asiæ subministrat, pretiosissimum tamen Scythia edit.*

² B. xxxvii. c. 5.

considerable Distance from one another. To this I answer, that the Time *Moses* speaks of, was before the Flood, when the Surface of the Earth was very different from what it is at present: For that the universal Deluge wrought prodigious Changes in the outward Parts of this Globe, I think, is manifest from the very ruinous Appearance of Mountains, the unequal Disposition of their Parts, (I mean, the heaviest Bodies mixt with and often placed above the lightest) and Sea-shells found in great Quantities, and surprising Varieties upon some of the highest of them. Should I attempt to explain the Cause and Manner of these Alterations, or to write a *Geographical Dissertation* upon the *Antediluvian* Earth, what Fate could I expect, when so many great Men have handled this Subject with so little success?

I am sensible the Current of Learned Men is against me, who almost all agree, that *Paradise* was situated about the Place where *Babylon* afterwards stood; that the *Tigris* and *Euphrates* meet near that Place, and afterwards part again: And there-

therefore that the Heads mentioned by *Moses*, are those two Partings, making four Divisions; the two upper being *Hid-dekil* and *Pbrat*, the two lower *Pbison* and *Gibon*. But with due Submission to those great Names, who have espoused this Opinion, I believe, it is founded upon a Mistake: For that the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*

* The Original of this Mistake seems to me to come from *Pliny* who says, that the *Euphrates* is divided; (*Vid. pag. xx.*) that one Branch falls into the *Tigris* at *Seleucia*, the other runs thro' *Babylon*, and is lost in the Bogs. However, in another Place he informs us, that this Part of the River which run through *Seleucia*, was an artificial Canal. *Book VI. cap. 28.* he calls it *Fossa*, and tells us who it was that made it. This was known afterwards by the Name of *Naar Malcha*, the *King's River*. *Strabo* tells us, the Land was so rotten that the Canals, which circulated the Water, were very subject to fill up; so that *Alexander* caused new ones to be made. At the Junction of one of these with the *Tigris*, *Seleucia* was built: *Trajan* and *Severus* afterwards cleansed this Canal for the Passage of their Fleets to the *Tigris*. *Ammianus Marcellinus Lib. xxiv. cap. 6.* says, *Id. (viz. flumen Regium, which he also calls fossile Flumen) antehac Trajanus, posteaque Severus, egesto solo, fodiri in modum Canalis amplissimi Studio curaverat summo, ut aquis illuc ab Euphrate transfusus, naves ad Tigridem commigrarent.* Notwithstanding which, when *Julian* the Apostate came hither, he was forced to cleanse it. *Zosimus* indeed says, (*B. III.*) the *King's River* had Water in it, but not enough to carry the Emperor's Fleet, without being cleansed: Whereas *Amm. Marcell* positively affirms that it was quite dry. All which plainly proves that this was not the natural Course of the River. *Rauwolf* and *Herbert* both affirm that these two Rivers meet a little below *Babylon*, but as they took it upon Trust, we must believe *Tavernier*, who was an Eye-witness. Besides, did the Rivers join so near *Bagdat*,

Tigris do not meet together, till a great many hundred Miles below *Babylon*: Nay, it is positively affirmed by the Ancients that originally they did not meet at all, but had their Channels distinct quite to the Sea; and that the ^b Inhabitants of the Country by stopping up the *Euphrates*, in order to water their Lands, diverted its Course, and turned it into the *Tigris*. In this manner were the *Rhine* and the *Mease* joined together by an Earthquake in later Times. *Tavernier*, who himself sailed down the *Tigris*, makes the present ^c Junction of these two Rivers to be at *Gorno*, at the Distance of 145 Leagues, or 435 Miles from *Bagdat*, only fifteen Leagues from *Balsora*. Indeed *Della Valle* and the *East-India Pilot* make the River to part again, and fall into the *Persian Gulf* by two Mouths:

But

dat, why do they complain of selling their Boats for a trifle at *Elago*? They might carry them to *Bagdat*, and have as good a Market for them, as any in the East. But the Truth is, the Canals are choaked up, and there is no getting thither in a Boat, but by going above 800 Miles round about.

^b *Pliny B. VI. c. 27. Inter duorum annuum ostia xxv mill. passuum fuere, aut (ut alii tradunt) vii mill. utroque navigabili: sed longo tempore Euphratem præclusere Ormeni & accolæ agros rigantes; nec nisi Pasitigri defertur in mare.*

^c *B. II. c. 8.*

But then whoever considers the Situation of the Country; that it is near the Sea and marshy, that the River is three or four Miles broad, and that it overflows the adjacent Country every Year, will think it a very improper Place to make a Garden of, for the Entertainment and Delight of man in his State of Innocence. *Moses* indeed says, that this Garden was in the East from the Place he wrote in, that is, from *Arabia Petraea*: But this will prove nothing at all; because the *Hebrews* took no Notice of the intermediate Points: So that when a Place lay any where towards the East, they said it was situated *מקדם* in the East; in the same manner as we say, that *Riga*, *Revel*, and *Petersburgh* are in the East Country. *Job* says, that *Gold cometh out of the North*, meaning, without doubt, the Gold of the *Phasis*: But then we must consider, that *Job* lived a great deal further East, than where *Moses* wrote, bordering upon the *Sabeans* and *Chaldeans*, and consequently would have the *Colchians* near full North.

BUT to return from this long, and, I
am

am afraid, tedious Digression. The *Greeks*, after they had passed the *Phasis*, wandered into Countries, of which there are but few Marks at present to know them by. There is indeed a Province of *Georgia* called *Taochir*, which, as it has a plain Resemblance to the *Taochians*, and as the *Greeks*, must be in these Parts, it may be presumed to have been formerly inhabited by this People. Who the *Chalybians* were, or where they lived, I can find nothing remaining. What Mr. *Hutchinson* ^d quotes from *Strabo*, that Χαλδαῖοι Χάλυβες τὸ παλαιὸν ὀνομαζόντο, is plainly meant of the *Chalybians* in the next Book, who, as Mr. *Hutchinson* himself allows were very distant both in Country and Manners, from the People the *Greeks* had to deal with in this Place.

AFTER this they came to the River *Harpasus*. I do allow with *Delisle*, that there is a River of this Name in this Country, which *Tournefort* calls ^e *Arpagi*, and makes to fall into the *Araxes*: But
how

^d Dissert. p. xiv.

^e So that Mr. *Hutchinson* had no Occasion to correct *Diodorus*.

how to bring the *Greeks* hither, and where to assign them the long Marches they had before performed, is, I confess, quite above my Sphere. To do any thing tolerable in this particular, we must wait till this Country is perfectly discovered; and whenever there shall be a compleat Map of it exhibited to the World, we may venture to affirm, that then the Learned will be able to lay down the March of this Army with some Accuracy. The next People the *Greeks* met with in their Progress were the *Scythinians*; probably the same with those *Scythians*,¹ whom *Diodorus* places in this Country. From hence they came to a City called *Gymnias*; of which I can meet with nothing, but that the same is called *Gymnasia* by *Diodorus*. At this Place they were furnished with a Guide, who was more just to them than the Bailiff had been; for in five² Days he conducted them to the Top of a Mountain, from whence

¹ B. II. c. 43. Τὸ μὲν ἂν πρῶτον (sc. Σκύθαι) παρὰ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν ὀλίγοι κατώκουν παντελῶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καταφρονούμενοι.

² *Diodorus Siculus* says 15 Days: But in this, and several other particulars, he differs so much from *Xenophon*, that I suspect, in drawing up of the Account of this Expedition he made use of some other Author.

whence they could plainly discern the Sea. A Sight they had long desired! In a short Time after this they arrived at ^h*Trebisond*, a Greek City; and keeping near the Sea-shore, marched, all that were able, to *Cotyora*.

AND here *Xenophon* puts an End to his Journey; making this the Conclusion of the *Κατάλασις* (*Retreat*), as the Place of Battle was of the *Ἀνάλασις* (*Expedition*.) The Reason of this is, because they afterwards failed much the greatest Part of their Way to *Greece*.

XENOPHON himself says, that from the Field of Battle in *Babylonia* to *Cotyora* they made 8 Months: And in the Conclusion he informs us, that the whole Expedition and Retreat took up 15 Months. Now whoever will be at the pains to compute the Marches and Halts from *Sardes* to the Battle, will find them to amount to exactly 6 Months: But as *Xenophon* begins the Expedition from *Ephesus*, we should reckon the Time from the same Place. Therefore allow-
ing

^h I take no Notice of the Places they touched at, because Mr. *Spelman*'s Notes are as full as can be desired.

ing something for their March to, and stay at *Sardes*; their ¹ consulting and passing the *Cilician* Mountains; their ² Stay and Quarrel at *Carmande*; and the ¹ Affair of *Orontas*, (where the Soothsayer's ten Days plainly shew the Time not accounted for :) I say, allowing for these, as *Xenophon* has said nothing about their Continuance, we cannot think a Month too long a time for them all: Which will make just 15 Months from their Departure from *Ephesus* to their Arrival at ^m *Cotyora*. Our Author's placing this Account at the End of his Book, has induced all the learned Men, I can meet with, to suppose, that the whole of their Transactions, from their first setting out to their joining of *Thimbron*, took up no more than 15 Months. This has introduced still a worse Mistake, by misplacing the Year of the Expedition in all the Chronological Tables. *Diodorus Siculus*

¹ Vol. I. page 25.

² Page 60, &c.

¹ Page 67, &c.

^m What puts this beyond all Dispute, are the Distances, which are only computed to *Cotyora*: For from *Ephesus* to the Battle are 16050, and from the Battle to *Cotyora* 18600 Stadia, in all 34650, the whole Sum mentioned by *Xenophon* at the End of the Book, without taking any Notice of their Travels after they left *Cotyora*.

culus places the Expedition in the last of the 94th Olympiad; and *Thimbron's* passing over into *Asia*, to make War upon *Tissaphernes*, in the first of the 95th Olympiad, and all have followed him, as far as I can perceive, without examining into the Affair. However, it is most certain, that from their Departure under *Cyrus*, to their Junction with *Thimbron*, was very near, if not quite, two full Years: And consequently that the Year of the Expedition ought to be fixed in the 3d of the 94th Olymp. and this will account for the Chasm or Non-action, which Mr. *Spelman* has ^a discovered in *Diodorus*, that Year. In order to make out what I advance, I reckon up the Time thus, viz.

	Months.
From <i>Ephesus</i> to the Battle, - -	7
From the Battle to <i>Cotyora</i> , - -	8
From their Arrival at <i>Cotyora</i> , to their Joining <i>Seuthes</i> (upon a moderate Computation,) - -	6
Serve under <i>Seuthes</i> , - - -	2
From their leaving <i>Seuthes</i> to their joining <i>Thimbron</i> , must be near. }	2
	—
	25
	The

^a Introduction, P. xxiii.

The two Months, they served under *Seuthes*, were in the middle of Winter, (suppose *December* and *January*) which is the only Mention of the Season of the Year in the whole Book. From hence we may gather, that the Battle was fought about the latter End of *September*; that they were in Snows of *Armenia* about the Beginning of *January*, came to *Trebisond* towards the End of *February*, and arrived at *Cotyora* about the Beginning of *June*. They set out from hence towards the latter end of *July*, joined *Seuthes* at the End of *November*, and were incorporated with the Troops under *Thimbron*, the *March* following, two full Years from their first Departure from *Ephesus*, to serve under *Cyrus*. The *Greeks*, it is well known, began their Year from the ° Summer Solstice. Therefore, as this Army returned when *Thimbron* passed over into *Asia*, (as is plain from *Xenophon*) that is, in the Spring of the first of the 95th *Olympiad*; so it is apparent, that *Cyrus* mustered his Forces, and departed from *Sardes* in the Spring of the third of the 94th *Olympiad*; which was two Years before their Junction with the *Lacedæmonian*

° That is, the first Month after the Summer Solstice.

monian General. Archbishop *Usher* plainly saw some difficulty in this particular; for in repeating *Xenophon's* Words, where he tells us, they were eight Months from the Battle to *Cotyora*, this learned Prelate says, ^p *it ought to be five, as the Course of the History afterwards requires*; meaning, without doubt, that out of the fifteen Months, mentioned by *Xenophon*, at the end of the Book, some Time ought to be allowed for their Transactions between their arrival at *Cotyora*, and their joining the *Lacedæmonians*. But, with all due Respect be it spoken, three Months is not sufficient for this by a great deal: For Instance, they stayed at *Cotyora* forty-five Days, and served under *Seuthes* two Months, besides a very considerable Train of Actions both before and after; all of which together could not, according to my Computation take up much less than ten Months. But further, if we collect the Days from the Field of Battle, to their Arrival at *Cotyora*, as they lie scattered in *Xenophon*, we shall find more than seven Months accounted for, besides two or three Places where Time is not strictly men-

^p *Cotyora venerant octo (vel quinque potius, ut Series Historiæ postulare videtur) post pugnam mensibus.*

mentioned: Which plainly shews that no Error can be crept into the Text; but that eight Months was the Time they spent in this March.

IT is true indeed that the Battle was fought in the 4th of the 94th Olympiad; but then it was in the beginning of it: Whereas *Diodorus* affirms, that *Cyrus* hired his Mercenaries, sent to the *Lacedæmonians* for Assistance, mustered his Army at *Sardes*, and began his March this same Year; ('supposing, without doubt, that they spent but 15 Months in the whole of their Travels) all which, as I think I have proved beyond all Contradiction, ought to be placed in the third of the 94th Olympiad, *Micion* being *Archon* of *Athens*.

AT *Cotyora* they took Shipping, and sailed to *Harmene*, a Port near *Sinope*: And from thence to *Heraclea*. In this second

^a *Usher* copies *Diodorus* in all these Particulars; and yet afterwards says, *commissa pugna est sub initium Anni 4 Olympiadis xciv.*

^r He supposes that *Cyrus*, having spent the Summer and Winter in preparing for the Expedition, set out in the Spring of the 4th of the 94th Olympiad, and that the *Greeks* returned late in the Spring following.

second Trip *Xenophon* informs us, that they saw the Mouths of several Rivers: first, that of the *Thermodon*; then of the *Halys*; and after this, that of the *Parthenius*: Whereas it is most certain that the *Thermodon* and *Halys* are a great way on the other side of *Sinope*, and consequently *Xenophon* must have seen the Mouths of them in the former Run, that is, from *Cotyora*, to *Harmene*. This will render what I hinted at above very probable, viz. that our Author kept no regular Journal of this Expedition; for if he had, where could he have more Leisure to write than on Board, where he could have nothing else to do, there being Pilots to steer the Course, and Sailors to manage the Ships?

It is evident from the Digression in the fifth Book 'about *Diana's* Offering, that our Author did not write 'this History

* Vol. II. p. 20.

† This Work came out under the Name of *Themistogenes* of *Syracuse*; and *Xenophon* himself refers to it under this Title in the 2d Book of his History: But the World was soon convinced who was the true Author; for there are not only several Passages in it which *Xenophon* himself alone could know; but it is likewise penned with so much Harmony and Sweetness as could flow from no
 Vol. II. k other,

History in its present Form, till several Years after his Return from the Expedition: for he there makes mention of his Sons going a Hunting; whereas it is pretty plain that at the Time we are speaking of, " he had no Children. He staid in *Asia*, with the Troops till *Agésilæus* was recalled, and after the Battle of *Chonorea* he retired to *Scilus*. This Battle was fought in the 2d of the 96th *Olympiad*, near five Years after his Return from the Expedition. In this Interval he married and had two Sons; and when these were grown up, which we must suppose would take up about twenty Years, * he wrote this Account of the

other, than the *Attic Bee*. Indeed it is the Opinion of some learned Men, that *Themistogenes* did write an Account of the Expedition, which *Xenophon* refers to, as above: But that he afterwards wrote one himself; which is the Work we have now extant. However, we shall find this very unlikely when we reflect that our *Ἀνέκατος* was wrote while *Xenophon* lived in ease and peace at *Scilus*, and his Sons were alive: whereas his *Greek History* was not drawn up till after the Battle of *Mantineæ*; when *Scilus* was destroyed, *Xenophon* removed to *Corinth*, and one of his Sons slain: So that *Scilus* was destroyed some time before this *Battle*, so the Expedition must be written before the *Greek History*.

^u Vol. II. p. 219.

* It is probable he wrote this History to vindicate his Honour, and published it under another Name to avoid the Imputation of Vanity. There were other Accounts,

the Transactions of the *Greeks* in Upper *Asia*. So that if some trivial Matters have slipped his Memory, it is not at all to be wondered at, since it was penned so many Years after the Affairs it mentions, were transacted.

AND here I cannot forbear to express some Doubt, concerning our Author's Age at the Time we are treating of. *Diogenes Laertius* affirms that he died in the 1st of the 105th Olympiad; and *Lucian*, that he lived to be upwards of 90 Years of Age. So, when he accompanied *Cyrus* into *Asia*, he must be at least 51: which to me seems quite irreconcilable with the Account he gives us of himself. When their Commanders were all destroyed, the *Greeks* were under great Anxiety, as being in the Heart of the *Persian* Empire, in the Neighbourhood of

it is likely, of this Expedition, which either blamed his Conduct, or were silent as to his Merit: What confirms me in this Opinion, is the Relation which *Diodorus Siculus* gives of the same Transactions; which not only varies from *Xenophon* in abundance of Particulars, but never mentions his Name, where he most deserves it, viz. in conducting the most memorable Retreat, that ever was performed in any Period of Time. This he attributes to *Cheirisophus*, by saying that *he was chosen General* B. XIV. c. 5. The only time I can find he mentions *Xenophon's* Name, is his warring against the *Thracians*. B. XIV. c. 6.

of a great Army, and all their best Officers murdered. The Army was so dispirited, that no one seemed to take any Care for its Preservation. *Xenophon* revolving these things in his Mind, says to himself, *Do I stay for the Arrival of a General from Greece to take the Command upon him? Or do I wait for Years to accomplish myself? But I shall in vain hope to grow older, if I this Day surrender myself up to the Enemy.* He therefore immediately calls up the Captains who had served under his Friend *Proxenus*, and proposes the Election of Officers in the Room of those that were put to Death; and concludes his Speech, with saying, that if they should choose him for their Commander, *he would not excuse himself by reason of his Age.* These two Passages compared with *Phalimus* calling him *BOY*² in the second Book, and his taking Notice of himself frequently as the youngest Officer, do almost prevail upon me to think, that he was no more than

¹ Εγὼ ἔν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἑμαυτῷ ἰλθεῖν ἀναμύνω; ὃ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἴσομαι, ἢ τῆμερον προδῶ ἑμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις; where it is plain by πρεσβύτερος, that he looked upon himself as too young to command.

² Vol. I. p. 120.

than 23 or 24 Years of Age; his Beard not fully grown, and therefore he might with some Propriety be called *BOY*. *Proxenus* was but 30 when put to Death, and consequently we must suppose *Xenophon* to be less, when he talks of excusing his Age to the Officers who served under *Proxenus*; else what he said must have been looked upon as a Banter upon the Years of his Friend, and upon the Men who served under such a Boy. It may be answered, that as the *Athenians* never pressed Men into their Armies, who were above the Age of 40, so *Xenophon* might say he would not refuse the Command by pleading this Custom: But this will be found to square but very indifferently with all the other Particulars; for had he been upwards of 50, he had been older than *Clearchus*,^a whom all the rest submitted to of course, and consequently can never be supposed to be the youngest Commander, when new ones were chosen. Besides, it is not credible, that a Man would go Volunteer in such

^a *Vol. I. p. 125.* As the oldest Officer, the rest being without Experience: If we may guess at the rest by the Ages of those mentioned, they must all be young Men. *Proxenus* was but 30, *Agiar* and *Socrates* about 40, when put to Death.

an Expedition as this, that is, to march 1200 Miles into an Enemy's Country, and then, when a Command was offered him, talk of refusing it upon the Account of his advanced Age. And tho' the *Athenians* did exempt Men from forced Service at the Age of 40; yet this was only with respect to the common Soldiers: Their Generals were not thought the worse for being above that Age. I think I may leave it to all the World to judge, whether it would not be ridiculous in any General to talk of resigning upon Account of his Age at 51; especially when he was affirming upon every Occasion, that he was one of the youngest Officers in the Army.

I cannot take my Leave without pointing out a very considerable Error in *Arbutnot's* Tables, which has misled Mr. *Spelman* in reducing the *Greek* to the *English* Measures at the End of the Book; for who could have any Suspicion of the Correctness of a Work, which it is supposed, was overlooked by some of the greatest Genius's in *Europe*? These Tables make the *Greek* Foot somewhat larger than

than the *English* Foot: The Pace to contain 5 Feet *English*, and yet the *Stadium* to contain but 100 Paces, 4 Feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ Inches; so that 600 *Greek* Feet are not equal to 505 *English* Feet: And so the *μῖλιον*, which contains 4800 *Greek* Feet, is made equal to 805 Paces 5 Feet, that is, 4030 *English* Feet. This Error arises from computing by the *Fathom*, instead of the Pace; and if this Mistake be rectified in the next Edition, the Tables will be correct for any thing I know at present to the contrary. The surest way of reducing the ancient Measures to those of the Moderns, is to keep in Mind the true Proportion of their respective Feet. Thus 960 *Greek* Feet are equal to 967 *English*, and therefore the 34650 *Stadia* contained in the whole Expedition and Return of this Army, will, when reduced to our Measures amount to 3966 Miles. The *Greek* Mile, or *μῖλιον*, is less than an *English* Mile by 445 *English* Feet. An *English* Mile contains 5241 *Greek* Feet.

R. FORSTER.

THE EXPEDITION

~~At the time that they assembled to con-~~
sider of the Remainder of their March,
and Division of Labour first rose up, and
spoke in the following manner. For my
Part, Gentlemen, I am already tired with

EXPEDITION

in my Rank, and with mounting the Guard
and fighting; and therefore now come, first
we are arrived at the Sea, to sail from
hence forward, freed from these Labours,
and stretched out in Ulys, seeing to
arrive in Greece. The Soldiers, hearing
this,

BOOK V.

WE have hitherto related the
Actions of the *Greeks* in their
Expedition with *Cyrus*, and in
their March to the *Euxine* Sea; how
they arrived at *Trebisond*, a *Greek* City,
and offered the Sacrifices they had vow-
ed to the Gods, in Return for their
Safety in the Place where they first came
into the Territories of their Friends.

BOOK
V.

AFTER that they assembled to consider of the Remainder of their March, and *Antileon* of *Thuria* first rose up, and spoke in the following manner. For my Part, Gentlemen! I am already tired with preparing my Baggage, with walking and running, carrying my Arms, and marching in my Rank, and with mounting the Guard and fighting; and therefore now desire, since we are arrived at the Sea, to ^a sail from hence forward, freed from these Labours, and stretched out, ^b like *Ulysses*, sleeping to arrive in Greece. The Soldiers, hearing this,

- ^a Πλεῖν τὸ λοιπόν. *Xenophon*, as we shall see afterwards, perpetually uses *πεζῇ πορεύεσθαι*, to travel by Land, in opposition to *πλεῖν*, to travel by Sea. There is a very remarkable Passage in the Institution of *Cyrus*, where our Author, speaking of the Posts instituted by the first *Cyrus*, says, that these Posts, performed by Horses, were the most expeditious Method of travelling by Land, τῶν ἀνθρώπων πεζῇ πορεύων αὐτὴ ταχίστη. But our Author is not singular in this Use of the Word; *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the Expedition of *Artaxerxes* against *Euagoras* King of *Cyprus*, calls his Land-Army, though it consisted of Horse, as well as Foot, πεζὸν στρατιῶμα; his Words are these; τὸ μὲν γὰρ πεζὸν στρατιῶμα μυριάδων ἑν τριάκοντα σὺν ἵπποις. I imagine this Sense of the Word in Greek may have given Occasion to the Phrase *pedibus ire* in the Latin Authors, and to *Cæsar*, in particular, to say *Lucius Cæsar pedibus Adrametum profugerat*.
- ^b Ὡς περ Ὀδυσσεύς. This relates to *Ulysses* arriving asleep in *Ithaca*, where the *Phæacian* Sailors left him in that Condition,
- Cæsar* G. W. 2 B. c. 23.

Homer
Odyss. V.

Καθ' ἃς ἐν ψαμάθῃ ἴδισαν, διδμημένοι ἔπνυ.

I

this, applauded him, and first another, and then all present expressed the same Desire. Upon this *Cheirisophus* rose up and said, *Gentlemen! Anaxibius is my Friend, and, at present, Admiral; if, therefore, you think proper to send me to him, I make no doubt of returning with Gallies and Ships to transport you; and since you are disposed to go by Sea, stay here 'till I return, which shall be very suddenly.* The Soldiers, hearing this, were very well satisfied, and decreed that he should set sail immediately.

AFTER him, *Xenophon* got up and spoke to this Effect. *Cheirisophus is gone to provide Ships for us, in the mean Time we propose to stay here. I shall therefore acquaint you with what I think proper for us to do during our Stay. In the first place we must supply ourselves with Provisions out of the Enemy's Country, for the Market here is not sufficient to supply us, besides, few of us are furnished with Money to provide ourselves with what we want, and the Country is inhabited by the Enemy. We shall therefore expose ourselves to lose many*

I mention this Verse to shew that *d'Ablancourt* had no Reason to excuse his leaving out *Dormant*, by saying that it is only an Ornament, and not a Point of History.

BOOK V. *many of our Men, if when we go in Search of Provisions, we are careless and unguarded: So that I am of Opinion, when you go out upon these Expeditions, you ought to take Guides, in order to be safe, and not wander about*

^c Σὺν προνομαῖς. I suspect there is here some Corruption in the Text; I do not know what to make of *σὺν προνομαῖς*; Muretus has a mind it should be *σὺν προδρομοῖς*, but that does not satisfy: Both the Latin Translators have said *per Excursiones*; but how could they get Provisions, otherwise than by Excursions? D'Abiancourt has made very good Sense of it, by saying *qu'on n'y aille point sans Escorte*; but I do not think it can be shewn that *προνομή* signifies the Escort that attends on Foragers; I shall therefore venture to make a small Variation in the Text, a Liberty, I believe I have not above twice indulged before; it is this; I would read *σὺν ἡγεμόσι* instead of *σὺν προνομαῖς*; but, in order to support this Alteration, I find myself obliged to put the Reader in Mind of what our Author says immediately before; he tells the Men they will expose themselves, *ἢ ἀμείως τε καὶ ἀφυστάτως πορεύονται ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*; the first of these, I think, he guards against by advising them to go out for Provisions *σὺν ἡγεμόσι*. This Reading seems to lead naturally to what he adds, *ἄλλως δὲ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι*, and further to *ἡμᾶς τέτων ἐπιμεληθῆναι*. Those who are acquainted with the ancient Writers must be sensible that there is so much Method in them, and so close a Connection between their general Assertions, and the Detail of them, the latter perpetually growing out of the former, that I hope this Alteration will not seem too violent, particularly where some was necessary. But there was another Danger, against which he was to warn them, and that related to private Plunder, for that is the Sense of *ἐπὶ λείαν πορεύεσθαι*, as it is particularly distinguished from public Expeditions in the sixth Book, where Xenophon tells us, the Soldiers made an Order that when the Army staid in the Camp, *ἐξὴν ἐπὶ λείαν ἵναι*, the Men were then allowed to go out for private Plunder; and presently he will give us an Account of the Misfortune of

about the Country without them, and that **BOOK**
the Care of providing them be left to us. **V.**

This being resolved, he went on. Hear also what I have farther to say. Some of you will, no doubt, desire to go out for Plunder. Let all such therefore acquaint us with their Intentions, and to what Part of the Country they propose to go; that we may know the Number both of those who go, and of those who stay, and assist the former in any Thing they want; and, if it shall be found necessary to send out Succours, that we may know whither to send them: And that, if any Person of less Experience undertakes any Thing, by endeavouring to know the Strength of the Enemy, we may be able to advise him. This also was resolved. In the next Place, consider this, says he, The Enemy having Leisure to make Reprisals, and may, with Justice, lay Snares for us, for we have possessed ourselves of what belongs to them, and they have the Advantage of us by being posted

of Cleonetus, when the Greeks went out upon that Account, ἐπὶ λείαν ἐξήσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες; but, when he comes to the public Expeditions of the Army to get Provisions, which he calls ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιστήσια πορεύεσθαι, and which were made in Consequence of their Resolution upon what he proposed, he there tells us that he himself took the Guides appointed by the Trapezuntians, and led out one half of the Army, leaving the other to guard the Camp.

BOOK V. posted upon Eminences that command our
Camp. For which Reason I think we ought
to place Out-guards round the Camp; and
if, by turns, we mount the Guard, and
watch the Motions of the Enemy, we shall be
the less exposed to a Surprise. Take this
also into your Consideration. If we were
assured that Cheirisophus would return
with a sufficient Number of Ships to transport
us, what I am going to say would be un-
necessary: But, as That is uncertain, I think
we ought, at the same Time, to endeavour to
provide ourselves with Ships from hence:
For, if we are already supplied, when he
arrives, we shall have a greater Number of
Ships to transport us; and, if he brings none,
we shall make use of those we have provided.
I observe many Ships sailing along this Coast;
these, if we desire the Inhabitants of Trebi-
sond to supply us with Ships of Strength, we
may bring to the Shore, and, taking off their
Rudders, place a Guard upon them, 'till we
have enough to transport us in such a Man-
ner as we propose. This also was resolved.
The next Thing I would recommend to your
Consideration, says he, is, whether it may not
be reasonable to subsist those belonging to these
Ships, as long as they stay in our Service, out
of

of the public Stock, and pay them their Freight, that they may find their Account in serving us. This was also resolved. I think, added Xenophon, that, if by this Means we should be disappointed of a sufficient Number of Ships, we ought to order the Towns that border on the Sea, to repair the Roads, which, as we are informed, are hardly passable: For, they will obey our Orders both through Fear, and a Desire to be rid of us.

BOOK

V.

UPON this they all cried out, that there was no Necessity to repair the Roads. Xenophon therefore, seeing their Folly, declined putting any Question relat-

^d *Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔτι μὲν ἔειπεν.* Leunclavius mistook this Passage, when he said *nihil sanxit*, which Hutchinson has properly explained by *nihil eos sententias rogavit*: Thus is *ἔτι* made use of more than once by Thucydides, and, in this Sense, he makes Nicias use it upon a very important Occasion; the Athenians, at the Instigation of Alcibiades, resolved to send a Fleet of sixty Ships under his Command and that of Nicias and Lamachus, to assist the Egæans against the Selinuntians, or rather to conquer Sicily: five Days after this Resolution, there was another Assembly of the People, where every Thing that was necessary towards equipping and manning the Fleet was to be provided. Here Nicias did all that was in his Power to divert them from the Expedition, and, after many very solid Arguments to that Purpose, he proposes to them to revoke their former Votes, and leave the Sicilians to enjoy what they possessed, and compose those Dis-

BOOK relating to That, but prevailed on the
V. Towns near the Sea to mend their
 Roads, of their own Accord; telling
 them, that, if the Roads were good, the
 Greeks would the sooner leave their
 Country. The Inhabitants of *Trebisond*
 let them have a Galley with fifty Oars,
 of which they gave the Command to
Dexippus, who lived in the Neighbour-
 hood

Differences without their Interposition; after proposing
 this, he calls upon the President of the Assembly, (if he
 thought it his Duty to take Care of the Commonwealth,
 and desired to shew himself a good Citizen) *so put the*
Question, and again to take the Opinion of the *Athenians*;
 καὶ σὺ ὡς πρῶτον, ταῦτα (εἴπερ ἡγήσοι προσέκειν κηδεσθαι
 τι τῆς πόλεως, καὶ βούλει γενέσθαι πολίτης ἀγαθός) ἐπιφύκει,
 καὶ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. *D' Ablancourt* has said
 very carelessly, *ne laissa pas d'y donner ordre.*

Διξίππον Λακωνικόν περιόικον. *Hutchinson* has render-
 ed this *Dexippum Laconem istius loci Accolam*, and *d' Ablan-*
court, in the same Sense, *qui demeurait en ces quartiers là*:
 This I do not take to be the Sense of *περιόικον*, in this
 Place, which I think *Leunclavius* has rendered very pro-
 perly *Dexippum Laconem à Sparta viciniâ*: The ancient
 Authors in treating of the Affairs of the *Lacedæmonians*,
 almost always distinguish between the Inhabitants of
Sparta and those of *Lacedæmon*, that is of the Country
 adjoining to it, the former of whom at the Time of the
 Invasion of *Xerxes* consisted but of eight thousand Men,
 and were looked upon as better Soldiers than the latter;
 for we find *Demaratus*, in *Herodotus*, saying to *Xerxes* at
 the Affair of *Thermopile*, εἰς ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι Σπάρτη,
 πόλις ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων μάλιστα καὶ ὅτοι πάντες ὁμοῖοι
 ἴσιν τοῖσι ἐνθάδε μαχισαμένοισι· οἱ γὰρ μὴν ἄλλοι Λακεδαι-
 μόνιοι, τέτοιοι μὲν ὅντι ὁμοῖοι, ἀγαθοὶ δέ. These Inhabi-
 tants of the Country of *Lacedæmon* are particularly called
περιόικοι by *Strabo*; whom, he tells us, were freed by the
Romans, when those of *Sparta* were under the Oppression
 of their Tyrants.

Herodot.
 in Poly-
 hymnia.

Strabo,
 8 B.

hood of *Sparta*: But he, neglecting to BOOK
V.
take any transport Ships, went away with the Galley, and sailed out of the *Euxine* Sea. However, he afterwards received condign Punishment; for, being in *Thrace* in the Service of *Seuthes*, and carrying on some Intrigues there, he was slain by *Nicander* the *Lacedæmonian*. The Inhabitants of *Trebisond* also supplied them with a Galley of thirty Oars, of which *Polycrates* an *Athenian* had the Command, who brought all the transport Ships he seized to the Shore before the Camp, and the *Greeks*, taking out their Cargoes, appointed Guards to take Charge of them, and retained the Ships for their Passage. In the mean Time the Soldiers went out to get Plunder, some succeeding, and others not. But *Cleænetus*, in attacking a strong Place with his own, and another Company, was slain together with many others.

WHEN the Provisions in the Neighbourhood were so far consumed, that the Parties could not return the same Day, *Xenophon* taking some of the Inhabitants of *Trebisond* for his Guides, led out one

BOOK half of the Army against the *Drilians*,
 V. leaving the other to guard the Camp:
 Because the *Colchians*, being driven out of
 their Houses, were got together in great
 Numbers, and encamped upon the Emi-
 nences. These Guides did not lead them
 to those Places, where Provisions were
 easy to be had, because the Inhabitants
 were their Friends: But conducted them
 with great Chearfulness into the Terri-
 tories of the *Drilians*, by whom they had
 been ill treated. This is a mountainous
 Country and of difficult Access, and the
 People the most warlike of all those who
 live near the *Euxine* Sea.

As soon as the *Greeks* entered their
 Country, the *Drilians* set Fire to all the
 Places they thought easy to be taken,
 and then went away. So that the *Greeks*
 found nothing but Swine, and Oxen,
 and some other Cattle that had escaped
 the Fire: There was one Place, called
 their Metropolis, whither they had all
 betaken themselves. This Place was sur-
 rounded with a ^f Valley exceeding deep,
 and the Access to it was difficult. How-
 ever,

^f *Χαράδρα*. So note ^b, page 210, Vol. I.

ever, the Targeteers, advancing five or six Stadia before the heavy-armed Men passed the Valley, and seeing there a great many Cattle with other Things, attacked the Place. They were followed by many Pike-men, who had left the Camp to get Provisions: So that the Number of those, who passed the Valley amounted to above two thousand Men. These, finding themselves unable to take the Place by Storm (for it was surrounded with a large Ditch and a Rampart, upon which there were Palisades, and many wooden Towers) endeavoured to retreat; but the Enemy attacked the Rear, so that, not being able to make their Retreat (for the Pass, which led from the Place to the Valley, was so narrow they could only go one by one) they sent to *Xenophon*, who was at the head of the heavy-armed Men. The Messenger acquainted him that the Place was furnished with great Quantities of Effects; *but*, says he, *it is so strong, we cannot make ourselves Masters of it: Neither is it easy for us to retreat; for the Enemy, sallying from the Place, attacks our Rear, and the Retreat is difficult.*

BOOK

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XENOPHON, hearing this, advanced to the Brink of the Valley, and ordered the heavy-armed Men to stand to their Arms : Then, passing over with the Captains, he considered whether it were better to bring off those who had already passed, or to send for the heavy-armed Men to come over also, in Expectation of taking the Place. He found the first could not be brought off without considerable Loss, and the Captains were also of Opinion that the Place might be taken. So *Xenophon* consented, relying upon the Victims ; for the Priests had foretold there would be an Action, and that their^e Excurfion would be attended with Success. He sent therefore the Captains to bring over the heavy-armed Men, and himself staid there, and drew off the Targeeters without suffering any of them to skirmish. As soon as the heavy-armed Men came up, he ordered each of the Captains to draw up their several Companies in such a Manner as they thought most

τὸ τέλος τῆς ἐξόδου. *Hutchinson* understands ἐξόδου in this Place to relate to the Retreat of the *Greeks* from the Place, where they seem to have engaged themselves rashly ; I have rather chosen to explain it of their *Excurfion* in Quest of Provisions ; which Sense I find *Leunclavius* has followed.

most advantageous. He did this, because those Captains, who were in a perpetual Emulation of Gallantry, stood near to one another. While these Orders were putting in Execution, he commanded all the Targeteers to advance with their Fingers ^h in the Slings of their Darts, which, when the Signal was given, they were to lance, and the Archers with their Arrows on the String, which, upon a Signal also, they were to discharge; at the same Time he ordered the light-armed Men to have their Pouches full of Stones; and appointed proper Persons to see these Orders executed. When every Thing was ready, and the Captains and Lieutenants, and the Men, who valued themselves no less than their Leaders, stood all in their Ranks, and viewed one another, (for by Reason of the Ground the Army made a fine Appearance) they sung the * *Pæan*, and the Trumpet sounded, then the Army shouted, the heavy-armed Men ran on, and Javelins, Arrows, leaden Balls, and Stones thrown by Hand flew among the Enemy; some of the Men even throwing Fire at them. The great

Quan-

^h Διηγκυλισμένους ἵνασι. See note γ, page 264, Vol. I.

* *Vide* note ⁱ, Vol. I. page 88, and 89.

BOOK V. Quantity of these missive Weapons forced them both from the Palisades, and the Towers; so that *Agasias* of *Stymphalus*, and *Philoxenus* of *Pelena*, laying down their Arms, mounted the Rampart in their Vests only; when some, being drawn up, by their Companions, and others, getting up by themselves, the Place was taken, as they imagined. Upon this, the Targeteers and light-armed Men, rushing in, plundered every Thing they could find, while *Xenophon*, standing at the Gates, kept as many of the heavy-armed Men as he could, without: Because other Bodies of the Enemy appeared upon some Eminences strongly fortified. Not long after, there was a Cry heard within, and the Men came flying, some with what they had got, and others, possibly, wounded. Upon this, there was great crowding about the Gates. Those who got through, being asked what the Matter was, said there was a Fort within, from which the Enemy sallied, and wounded our Men who were in the Place.

XENOPHON, hearing this, ordered *Tolmides* the Cryer to publish, that all, who

who desired to partake of the Plunder, should go in; many therefore prepared themselves to enter, and, rushing in, drove back those who were endeavouring to get out, and shut up the Enemy again within the Fort. The *Greeks* plundered and carried off every Thing they found without it; while the heavy-armed Men stood to their Arms, some round the Palisades, and others upon the Road that led to the Fort. Then *Xenophon*, and the Captains considered whether it were possible to take it, for, in that Case, they secured their Retreat, which otherwise, would be exceeding difficult: But, upon Consideration, the Fort was found to be altogether impregnable. Upon this they prepared for their Retreat, and each of the Men pulled up the Palisades that were next to him, then the useless People, together with the greatest Part of the heavy-armed Men, were sent out to get Plunder; but the Captains retained those, in whom each of them confided.

As soon as they began their Retreat, the Enemy sallied upon them, in great Numbers, armed with Bucklers, Spears, Greaves

BOOK V. Greaves and *Paphlagonian* Helmets; while others got upon the Houses on each Side of the Street that led to the Fort; so that it was not safe to pursue them to the Gates of it, for they threw great Pièces of Timber from above, which made it dangerous both to stay, and to retire: And the Night, coming on, increased the Terror. While they were engaged with the Enemy under this Perplexity, some God administered to them a Means of Safety; for one of the Houses on the right Hand took Fire on a sudden: Who set Fire to it, is not known: But, as soon as this House fell in, the Enemy quitted all those on the right, and *Xenophon*, being taught this Expedient by Fortune, ordered all the Houses on the left to be set on Fire. These, being built of Wood, were soon in a Flame, upon which the Enemy quitted them also. There only now remained those in the Front to disturb them, it being evident they designed to attack them in their Retreat and Descent from the Fort. Upon this, *Xenophon* ordered all who were out of the Reach of the missive Weapons, to bring Wood, and lay it in the Midway
be-

between them and the Enemy. When they had brought enough, they set Fire to it; setting Fire at the same Time to the Houses that were next the Rampart in order to employ the Enemy. Thus, by interposing Fire between themselves and the *Barbarians*, they, with Difficulty, made good their Retreat; the City with all the Houses, Towers, Palisades, and every Thing else but the Fort was reduced to Ashes.

THE next Day the *Greeks* marched away with the Provisions they had taken; but, apprehending some Danger in the Descent to *Trebisond* (for it was a steep and narrow Defile) they placed a false Ambuscade. A certain *Mysian* by Birth as well as Name, taking four or five *Cretans* with him, stopped in a Thicket, affecting an endeavour to conceal himself from the Enemy, while the flashing of their brazen Bucklers discovered them here and there. The Enemy therefore, seeing this, were afraid of it, as of a real Ambuscade: In the mean Time the Army descended. As soon as the *Mysian* judged they were advanced far enough,

BOOK V. he gave the Signal to his Companions to fly in all Haste, and he himself, leaving the Thicket, fled, and they with him. The *Cretans* (expecting to be overtaken) left the Road, and, rolling down into the Valleys, got safe to a Wood. But the *Myfian*, keeping the Road called out for Help, when some ran to his Assistance, and brought him off wounded. These, after they had rescued him, retreated slowly, though exposed to the Enemy's missive Weapons, while some of the *Cretans* discharged their Arrows in Return. Thus they all arrived at the Camp in Safety.

WHEN neither *Cheirifophus* returned, nor the Ships, they had provided, were sufficient to transport them, and no more Provisions were to be had, they determined to leave the Country. To this End they put on board all their Sick, and those above forty Years of Age, together with the Women and Children, and all their Baggage that was not absolutely necessary; and appointed *Philefius* and *Sophænetus*, the oldest of the Generals, to go on board, and take Care of them.

them. The rest travelled by Land, the Roads being mended; and, the third Day, they arrived at *Cerazunt*, ¹a Greek City situated in the Country of the *Colchians* near the Sea, and a Colony of the *Sinopians*. Here they staid ten days, during which, the Soldiers were reviewed in their Arms, and an Account taken of their Number, which amounted to eight thousand six hundred. These were all that were saved out of about ten thousand: The rest were destroyed by the Enemy and by the Snow, and some by Sickness. Here each Man received his Share of the Money that had been raised by the Sale of the Captives, the tenth Part of which they consecrated to *Apollo* and to *Diana* of *Ephesus*: of this each of the Generals received a Part to be appropriated by them to that Service: *Neon* the *Asinian* received That which was designed for *Cheirisophus*.

XENO-Ammia-

¹ Εἰς Κερασούντα. *Cerazunt* was the Place, whence *Lucullus*, in his Return from his Expedition against *Mithridates*, brought Cherry-Trees into *Italy*, in the Year of *Rome* 680; one hundred and twenty Years after that they were carried into *Britain*; they seem to have had their Name from this City, or the City from them. *Tournefort* tells us, that he found all the Hills, in the Neighbourhood of it, covered with those Trees. *Cerazunt* was afterwards called *Pharnaceia*, though *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny* make them different Towns.

nus Marcellinus. Pl. N. H. 15 B. c. 25. Tournefort 17 Letter. Arrian Periplus of the Euxine Sea.

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XENOPHON therefore, having caused an Offering to be made for *Apollo*, consecrated it in the Treasury of the *Athenians* at *Delphos*, inscribing it with his own Name and that of *Proxenus*, who was slain with *Clearchus*, there having been an Intercourse of Hospitality between them. As to that Part of the Money which was appropriated to *Diana* of *Ephesus*, he left it with *Megabyesus*, the *Sacristan* of that Goddess, ^kwhen he departed out of *Asia*, in Company with *Agésilas*, with a Design to go to *Bæotia*, conceiving he might be exposed to some Danger with him at *Choronea*. He enjoined *Megabyesus*, if he escaped, to restore the Money to him, otherwise, to make such an offering with it, as he thought would be most acceptable to the Goddess, and dedicate it to her. Afterwards, when *Xenophon* was banished from *Athens*, and lived at *Scilus*, a Town built by the *Lacedæmonians* near *Olympia*, *Megabyesus* came to *Olympia*, to see the Games, and restored the Deposit. With this Money, *Xenophon* purchased some Lands in Honour of the God-

^k ΟΤΙ ἀπείλει σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ. See the Life of *Xenophon* prefixed to this Translation, where this and many other subsequent Passages are explained.

Goddeſs, in the Place directed by the BOOK
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Oracle; through which the River *Selenus* happens to run, a River of the ſame Name running alſo hard by the Temple of the *Epheſian Diana*, and in both there are Shell-Fiſh ¹ as well as other Fiſh. Beſides, there are in this Place near *Scilus*, wild Beaſts of all Kinds that are proper for the Chafe. *Xenophon* alſo built a ^m Temple and an Altar with this conſecrated Money: And, from that Time, offer-

¹ *Κόγχαι*. Under the Title of *Κόγχαι* in *Greek*, and *Conchæ* in *Latin*, are comprehended the infinite Variety of Shell-Fiſh deſcribed by *Pliny*; moſt of which, I dare Pl. N. H.
ſay, I have ſeen in Sir *Hans Sloane's* magnificent and 9 B. 33 c.
curious Collection of the Product of all the four Parts of the Earth; which Collection I look upon as a much better Comment upon that Author, than all that has been written to explain him.

^m *Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ ναὸν, &c.* *Pausanias* tells us that near Pausanias
to this Temple ſtood a Monument, ſaid to be erected for 5 B.
Xenophon, with his Statue in *Penteleſian Marble*; the Quarry of this Marble, ſo much celebrated among the Statuaries, was upon a Mountain of that Name near Ib. 1 B.
Athens; whatever Merit this Marble might have, we find c. 32.
in *Pliny* that the firſt Statuaries made uſe of no other Pl. N. H.
than that of *Paros*, though, ſince that Time, he ſays, 36 B.
many whiter Kinds of Marble have been diſcovered, and, not long before he writ, in the Quarries of *Luna*, a Sea-Port Town of *Tuſcany*. I have lately ſeen, in the Hands of a very curious Perſon, a Piece of Marble juſt brought from the Iſland of *Paros*; it is exceeding white, and ſparkles like the Fragments of the moſt ancient Statues, which by theſe Circumſtances, as well as by the Authority of the beſt Authors, plainly appear to have been of that Marble.

BOOK V. offered to the Goddess an annual Sacrifice of the Tenth of the Product of every Season; and all the Inhabitants, with the Men and Women in the Neighbourhood, partook of the Feast: and all, who are present at it, have Barley-Meal, Bread, Wine and Sweetmeats in Honour of the Goddess, and also their Share of the Victims, that are killed from the consecrated Lands, and of the Game that is taken. For the Sons of *Xenophon*, and those of the rest of the Inhabitants, always made a general Hunting against the Feast, when all, who desired it, hunted along with them: and wild Boars, with "Roe and red Deer, were taken both upon the consecrated Lands, and upon a Mountain called *Pholoe*. The Place lies near the Road, that leads from *Lacedæmon* to *Olympia*, about twenty Stadia from the Temple of *Jupiter*, that stands in the last of these Cities. There are Groves belonging to it, and Hills, covered with Trees, very proper to feed Swine, Goats, Sheep and Horses; so that those belonging to the Persons, who come

" Δορυάδες. See note ^b, page 55, upon the first Book. The Mountain *Pholoe* in *Arcadia* was famous for all Sorts of Game.

come to the Feast, find Plenty of Pasture. BOOK
 The Temple it self stands in a Grove of V.
 Fruit-Trees, that yield all Sorts of Fruit
 proper to the Season : ° It resembles, in
 little,

° Ο δὲ ναὸς, ὡς μικρὸς μεγάλῳ, τῷ ἐν Εφέσῳ ἴκασται·
 καὶ τὸ ξόανον ἰοικεν, ὡς κυπαρίσσινον χρυσῷ ὄντι τῷ ἐν Εφέσῳ.
Hutchinson has, upon this Occasion, quoted a Passage out
 of *Pliny*, wherein that Author gives the Dimensions of the
 Temple of *Ephesus*; but it must be observed that the
 Temple, there described by *Pliny*, was not in being at
 the Time of our Author; since it was only begun after *Euseb.*
 the first was burned down by *Herostratus*, which happened *Chron.*
 the same Night *Alexander* the Great was born, that is, in *Arrian*
 the *Attick* Month *Boëdromion* (*September*) in the first Year *7 B.*
 of the 106th Olympiad: Which gave Occasion to *Timæus*, *Timæus*
 the Historian, to say, that it was no Wonder *Diana's* *in Tully*
 Temple was burned, since the Goddess was from Home *de Nat*
 attending *Olympias* in her Labour. The Temple there- *Deor. 2 B.*
 fore which was burned down by *Herostratus*, not That
 described by *Pliny*, (which was not begun 'till some
 Years after *Xenophon's* Death, and was 220 Years in *Pl. N. H.*
 building) must have been the Model of the Temple built *36 B. c. 14.*
 by *Xenophon* at *Scilus*. The last Temple of *Ephesus*, *Alex-*
ander, it seems, was so desirous to have inscribed with
 his Name, that he offered the *Ephesians* to bear all the
 Expence they had been, and should be at in building it,
 provided they would consent to the Inscription: This
 they refused with as great Vanity as he desired it; but,
 being sensible that a flat Denial might be attended with
 dangerous Consequences, they cloathed theirs with a
 Piece of Flattery, and told *Alexander* that it was not de- *Strabo,*
 cent for one God to dedicate Temples to another. The *14 B.*
 same Judgment is to be made of the Quotation brought
 by *Hutchinson* out of *Pliny*, in Relation to the Wood of
 which the Statue of the *Ephesian Diana* was made, since
 we find, by this Passage of *Xenophon*, that the Statue in
 the first Temple was of Gold. I am apt to believe also
 that the Representations of the *Ephesian Diana* which are
 to be met with in several Monuments of Antiquity, are
 all taken from the Statue in the last Temple. The great
 Number of Breasts, with which the Body of this Statue
 is

BOOK little, the Temple of *Ephesus*, and the
 V. Statue of the Goddess, is as like that of
Ephesus,

is surrounded, (from which she was called *multimammia* πολύμας) confirm the Opinion of some learned Men that the *Egyptian Isis*, and the *Greek Diana* were the same Divinity with *Rhœa* from the Hebrew Word רָחַב *Rahab*, to feed. The *Diana* of *Ephesus* also, like *Rhœa*, or *Cybele*, was crowned with Turrets, which Symbol of *Rhœa*, together with her Fecundity, are both set forth in those beautiful Verses, where *Virgil* compares *Rome* to this Goddess,

Virg. 6 B.

*En hujus, Nate, Auspiciis illa incluta Roma
 Imperium Terris, animos æquabit Olympo:
 Septemque una sibi Muro circumdabit Arces,
 Felix Prole virum: qualis Berecynthia mater
 Invehitur curru Phrygiæ turrata per urbes,
 Læta Deum partu, centum, complexa Nepotes,
 Omnes Cælicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes.*

Montfau-
 con, *Anti-
 quity ex-
 plained*,
 3 B.

I am surprized that *Montfaucon*, in his Account of the *Diana* of *Ephesus*, and of the various Representations of that Goddess, does not distinguish between the two Temples and the two Statues, but contents himself with quoting the same Passage out of *Pliny*, to shew the different Opinions of People concerning the Wood of which the Statue was made. But, to return to the *Greek Diana*, the *Phrygian Rhœa*, or the *Egyptian Isis*, all Emblems of Fecundity, it is very observable that almost all the Statues of the *Ephesian Diana* have a Crab upon the Breast; of which *Montfaucon*, after he has given the Opinions of the Antiquaries, says the Signification is uncertain; however uncertain it may be, I beg I may be allowed to offer a Conjecture about it. Every one agrees that the Representation of the *Ephesian Diana* was taken from the *Egyptian Isis*, and all Authors both ancient and modern, affirm that the overflowing of the *Nile* becomes remarkable generally at the Summer Solstice; how then could the *Egyptians* represent Fertility better than by placing on the Breast of their Goddess *Isis*, or universal Nature, that Sign in the *Zodiack*, which denotes the Summer Solstice, when the fertile Water of the *Nile* begins to diffuse Plenty over the Face of their
 Coun-

Herodot.
 in Euterp.
 Maillet 2
 Letter.

Ephesus, as a Statue of Cypress can be to one of Gold: Near to the Temple stands a Pillar with this Inscription. BOOK
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These Lands are consecrated to Diana. Let the Possessor offer up the tenth Part of the annual Product in Sacrifice, and out of the Surplus, keep the Temple in repair. If he fails, the Goddess will punish his Neglect.

FROM *Cerazunt*, those who went on board before, continued their Voyage by Sea, and the rest proceeded by Land. When they came to the Confines of the *Mosynæcians*, they sent *Timestheus* of *Trebisond* to them, between whom and them

Country? This hieroglyphical Manner of representing Fertility is agreeable to the Genius of the *Egyptians*, who seem to have pursued it in the Composition of their fictitious Animal, the Sphinx, a Figure composed of the Body of a Lion, and the Head of a Virgin, with the same View of denoting Plenty spread over *Egypt* by the overflowing of the Nile, during the Time the Sun passes through the Signs of the Lion and Virgin, which immediately follow the Summer Solstice *שׁוֹמֵר* *Sphang* in Hebrew, from whence the word *Sphinx* is visibly derived, signifying overflowing.

† *Μοσυνοίκων*. The *Mosynæcians* are thus paraphrased by *Dionysius Periegetes*,

— οἱ μόνονας ἔχουσι
Δυρατίαις. —

Upon which *Eustatbius* observes λίγαι μόνονας ἔχουσι δυρατίαις ἢ ξυλίνας. It seems the *Greeks* gave them the *Periegetes* Name of *Mosynæcians*, from the wooden Towers they inhabited, *μόνον* signifying in Greek a wooden Tower. w. 766.

BOOK them there was an Intercourse of Hospi-
 V. tality, to ask them in their Name, whe-
 { ther they desired the *Greeks* should march
 through their Country as Friends or as
 Enemies? The *Mosynæcians* answered it
 was equal to them; for they trusted to
 their Places of Strength. Upon this
Timefitheus informed the *Greeks*, that the
Mosynæcians, who inhabited the Country
 beyond these, were at Enmity with them:
 So they resolved to send to this People to
 know whether they were disposed to enter
 into an Alliance; and *Timefitheus*, being
 sent upon this Occasion, returned with
 their Magistrates. When they were ar-
 rived, they had a Conference with the
 Generals of the *Greeks*, and *Xenophon*
 spoke to them in this Manner, *Timefitheus*
 being the Interpreter:

O *Mosynæcians*! *We propose to go to
 Greece by Land, for we have no Ships: but
 these People, who, as we understand, are your
 Enemies, oppose our Passage. You have it in
 your Power, therefore, if you think proper,
 by entering into an Alliance with us, both to
 take Revenge of them for any Injuries they
 may have formerly done you, and to keep them*
in

in Subjection for the future. Consider then, BOOK
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whether, if you neglect this Opportunity, you are ever like to be supported with so powerful an Alliance. To this the chief Magistrate of the Mosynæcians made Answer, that he approved of this, and accepted our Alliance. Let us know then, said Xenophon, what Use you propose to make of us, if we become your Allies? And of what Service you can be to us in our Passage. They answered, We have it in our Power to make an Irruption, on the other Side, into the Country of those who are Enemies to us both, and to send hither Ships with Men, who will be both your Auxiliaries, and your Guides.

UPON these Terms they gave their Faith, and received ours, and then returned. The next Day they came back with three hundred Canoes, three Men being in each, two of whom disembarking, stood to their Arms in Order of Battle, and the third remained on board. These went away in their Canoes, and the rest disposed themselves in the following Manner. They drew up in several Lines, each consisting of about one hundred Men, which, like Rows of

BOOK V. Dancers, faced one another; they had all Bucklers made of the Hides of white Oxen with the Hair on, and shaped like an ivy Leaf; and, in their right Hands, a Spear six Cubits in Length, with a Point on the upper Part, and, on the lower, a Ball of the same Wood. They wore Vests, which did not reach to their Knees, of the Thickness of ^a linen Bags, in which Carpets are usually packed up; and, on their Heads, Helmets made of Leather, like those of the *Paphlagonians*, from the Middle of which there rose a Tuft of Hair braided to a Point resembling

Plutarch
in *Cæsar*.

^a Στρωματόδιον. It was in one of these Sacks that *Cleopatra* conveyed herself in Order to deceive *Cæsar*'s Guards, and solicit him against her Brother; ἀπορε δὲ, says *Plutarch*, πῶς λαβεῖν οὐτὸ ἄλλοτ' ἢ μὴ εἰς στρωματόδιον ἰδύσθαι, προτίνει μακρὰν ἑαυτῇ· ἧ δὲ *Apollodorus* ἱκανὴ σκεῆσθαι τὸν στρωματόδιον, ἰσοκρίσει· πρὸς τὸν *Καίωνα*.

Thucydides, 1 B.

^r Κράβυλον. I shall quote a Passage of *Thucydides*, upon this Occasion, not only to explain the Signification of this Word, but also because the Passage itself contains an Account of a very odd Dress in Use among the *Athenians* of old, with the Observation of the *Greek Scholiast* upon it. *Thucydides* tells us, that, not long before his Time, the old Men at *Athens*, of the richer Sort, wore linen Vests, and the Braids of their Hair interwoven with golden Grasshoppers: καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἰουδαίων, διὰ τὸ ἀερόδιαστον, ἔπολιν χρυσοῦ ἐπιειδὲν χιτῶνας τε λιγυρὰς ἐπαύσαντο φορεῖν, καὶ χερσὶν ἐπιτίγων ἐνέσει· κράβυλον ἀναδέμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τειχῶν. The *Greek Scholiast*, in his Observation upon this Passage, fully explains the word Κράβυλον, made Use of by *Xenophon* in that

sembling a Tiara. They had also Battle-
Axes made of Iron. Then one of them

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led the Way, and all the rest followed,
singing also, and marching in Time;
when, passing through the Ranks of the
Greeks, as they stood to their Arms, they
advanced immediately against the Ene-
my, to a Fort that seemed in no Degree
capable of making Resistance. This Fort
stood before the City, which they called
the Metropolis, that contained within it
the most considerable Citadel of the *Mosynæcians*.
This Citadel was the Subject
of the present War between them; for
those, who were in Possession of it, were
always looked upon to have the Com-
mand of all the rest of the *Mosynæcians*:
they told us that the others had seized
this

that now before us: Κρῶβυλος, says he, ἴσιν ἰδῶ· πηγ-
ματῶ· τῶν τριχῶν, ἀπὸ ἑκατέρων εἰς ὅσον ἀπολήγον· ἐκαστὸς
δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν, κρῶβυλος· τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν, κόρυμβος· τῶν
δὲ παίδων, ἀκορεπί· — ἰφόρει δὲ πέπληγας, διὰ τὸ μυστικόν,
ἢ διὰ τὸ αὐτόχθονας εἶναι, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῶον γηγενές. And this
is the Sense I have given to the Word Κρῶβυλος in my
Translation of this Passage. The last Reason given by
the Greek Scholiast for the Athenians wearing Grasshoppers
in their Hair seems the best founded, that is, that they
did it to shew they were the original Inhabitants of the
Country, for every body knows this was their Preten-
sion. I am at a Loss to know what induced d'Ablandcourt
to translate Κρῶβυλος *un cercle de Fer*. He has been
equally unfortunate in rendering the following Passage.
χιτωνίσκος δὲ ἐνεδιδύκεται ὑπὲρ γονάτων, ἵς· ἔσθοντο δὲ
d'armes qui leur passoient les genoux.

BOOK this Place, contrary to all Justice, it be-
 V. longing to both Nations in common,
 and, by seizing it, had gained the As-
 cendant over them.

SOME of the *Greeks* followed these Men, not by the Orders of their Generals, but for the sake of Plunder. The Enemy, upon their Approach, kept themselves quiet for a Time; but, when they came near the Fort, they sallied out, and, putting them to Flight, killed many of the *Barbarians*, together with some of the *Greeks*, who were of the Party; and pursued them 'till they saw the *Greek* Army coming up to their Assistance. Upon which they turned and fled: And, cutting off the Heads of the Slain, they shewed them both to the *Greeks* and to the *Mesynæcians*, their Enemies; dancing at the same Time, and 'singing a particular Tune. This Accident gave the *Greeks* great Uneasiness, both because it encouraged the Enemy, and because their own Men, who were of the Party in great

Herodot.
 in Clio.

Νόμον τινὲ ἀδόντις. Νόμος is used in the same Sense by Herodotus, where, speaking of the Adventure of *Arion*, he says, τὸν δὲ (Ἀρίωνα) ἰδόντα τὰ πᾶσαι τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάραν, γαῖτα ἐν τοῖσι ἰδύλοισι διεξιλεῖν νόμον τὸν ὄρθιον.

great Numbers, ran away; which had never happened before during the whole Expedition. Upon this, *Xenophon*, calling the Soldiers together, spoke to them in this Manner. *Gentlemen! do not suffer yourselves to be cast down by what has happened; for the Good, that attends it, is not less than the Evil. In the first Place, this has convinced you that our Guides are, in reality, Enemies to those to whom we are so through Necessity. Secondly, those Greeks, who despised our Discipline, and thought themselves able to perform as great Things in Conjunction with the Barbarians, as with us, are justly punished: So that, for the future, they will be less desirous of leaving our Army. Prepare yourselves therefore to let those Barbarians, who are your Friends, see, that you are superior to them in Courage, and to shew those, who are your Enemies, that they will not find you the same Men now, as when they engaged you, while you were in Disorder.*

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THUS they passed this Day. The next, as soon as they had offered Sacrifice, and found the Victims favourable, they took their Repast. After that, the
Army

Army being drawn up in Columns, and the *Barbarians* placed on the left in the same Disposition, they went on, the Archers marching in the Intervals, a little within the foremost Ranks of the heavy-armed Men; for the Enemy's Forlorn, consisting of light-armed, advanced before the rest, and discharged a Volley of Stones among the *Greeks*. These were repulsed by the Archers and Targeteers. The rest marched slowly on, and first went against the Fort, before which the *Barbarians* and the *Greeks*, who were with them, had been put to Flight the Day before: for here the Enemy was drawn up. The *Barbarians* received the Targeteers, and fought with them: But, when the heavy-armed Men came up, they fled; and the Targeteers immediately followed, pursuing them up the Hill to the Metropolis, while the heavy-armed Men marched on in their Ranks. As soon as the *Greeks* had gained the Top of the Hill, and came to the Houses of the Metropolis, the Enemy, being now got together in a Body, engaged them, and lanced their Javelins; and, with other Spears, which were of that Length
and

and Thickness that a Man could scarce BOOK
V.
wield one of them, they endeavoured to defend themselves hand to hand.

HOWEVER the *Greeks* pressing hard upon them, and engaging them in a close Fight, they fled, and presently all the *Barbarians* quitted the Town. But their King, who resided in a wooden Tower situated upon an Eminence, (whom, while he resides there, and guards the Place, they maintain at the public Expence) refused to leave it, as did also those who were in the place that was first taken: so they were burned there together with their Towers. The *Greeks*, in sacking the Town, found, in the Houses, great Heaps of Bread made, according to the Custom of the Country, the year before; as the *Mosynæcians* assured us: and the new Corn laid up in the Straw; 'it was most of it Spelt. They found

Ζεία. *Ζεία* or *Ζέα* in *Greek*, is what the *Romans* called *Far*, as we find very particularly in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, where, speaking of the matrimonial Ceremony, Hal. 2 B. by them called *confarreatio*, he says it had its Name ἀπὸ τῆς κοινωνίας τῆς φαγγός, ὃ καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς *Ζέαν*; I am apt to believe it was what we call *Spelt*. *Pliny* says the Epithet ΠΙ. Ν. Η. of *Ζείδωρος* which *Homer* gives so often to *Ἄργεα* is derived from *Ζέα*, not from *Ζῆν*, according to the general Opinion. 18 B. c. 8.

BOOK V. found also Dolphins cut into Pieces, lying in pickle in Jars: And, in other Vessels, the Fat of the same Fish, which the *Mosynæcians* used, as the *Greeks* do Oil. In their Garrets were great Quantities of ^u Chesnuts. These they boil and generally used instead of Bread. There was found Wine also, which, when unmixed, was so rough that it appeared sour: But, being mixed with Water, became both fragrant and sweet.

THE *Greeks*, having dined there, went forward, delivering up the Place to those *Mosynæcians* who had assisted them in taking it. As for the rest of the Towns they arrived at, which belonged to the Enemy, the easiest of Access were either abandoned, or surrendered. The greatest Part of which are of this Nature; they are distant from one another eighty Stadia, some more, some less; and yet, when the Inhabitants call out to one another, they can be heard from one Town to another: So mountainous, and so

^u Κάρυα τὰ πλατεῖα ἐκ ἔχοντα διαφύνην ἐδεμίαν. Literally flat Nuts without any Cleft; Κάρυα signifies Nuts in general; by these Additions they are distinguished both from common Nuts, and Walnuts.

so hollow is the Country. The Greeks BOOK
V.
proceeding still forwards, arrived among their Allies, who shewed them Boys belonging to the rich Men, fatted with boiled Chesnuts: Their Skin was delicate and exceeding white, and they were very near as thick as they were long. Their Backs were painted with various Colours, and all their fore Parts * impressed with Flowers.

* Εξυγμένους ἀνθέμιον. I am not at all surprized that the Translators are puzzled at the Word ἀνθέμιον in this Place, for, I believe, it is no easy Matter to find it used in this Sense by any other Author; *Hutchinson* has said, after *Leunclavius*, *pieturâ floridâ distinctis*, which though I am far from condemning, yet I think ἀνθεμόεν is the Word used by all Authors in that Sense; this is the Epithet *Homer* gives to the Bason or Charger, which *Achilles* proposes as one of the Prizes to the Victor in throwing the Dart,

Καδδὲ λίβητ' ἄπυρον βοὸς ἄξιον ἀνθεμόεντα
Θῆκ' ἐς ἀγῶνα φέρων.

Homer II.
↓.

Which Mr. *Pope* has translated as he ever does, with great Propriety,

*An ample Charger of unsullied Frame,
With Flow'rs high-wrought*

The Lexicons are as silent, in Relation to this Sense of the word ἀνθέμιον, as the Authors; *Hesychius* says it signifies a winding Line in Pillars, γραμμὴ τις ἐλικοειδὴς ἐν τοῖς κίονσι, I suppose he means twisted Pillars; it is therefore submitted to the Reader whether *Xenophon* may not say that the Fore-parts of these People were impressed with this Kind of Flourishes. *D'Ablancourt* has said with great Art and little Fidelity, ils avoient le dos & l'estomach peint de diverses Couleurs, by this Means he has left out ἀνθέμιον. The Custom, mentioned by *Xenophon* to have been in Practice among the *Mosynæcians* of painting their Bodies, was also used by our Ancestors, as we find in

BOOK Flowers. They wanted publicly to make
 V. Use of the Women the *Greeks* brought
 with them. It seems this is their Custom.
 The People of this Country, both Men
 and Women, are very fair: All the Army
 agreed that these were the most barba-
 rous People they had met with in all
 their Expedition, and the most distant
 from the Manners of the *Greeks*. For
 they do those Things in public, which
 others do in private, otherwise they dare
 not do them at all: And, in private, they
 behave themselves as if they were in pub-

Cæsar G. *Cæsar*, who says that all the Britons painted themselves
 W. 5 B. with Woad, which makes a blue Dye. *Omnes se Britanni
 vitro inficiunt, quod cæruleam efficit colorem.* This Word
 Diosc. 2 B. *vitrum* has, I find, puzzled the Commentators; but it
 signifies here the Plant which the *Greeks* call *ισάρις*, in
 English, Woad, a Plant well known to the Dyers, who
 Marc. use great Quantities of it to make their blue Dye. *Herba,*
 Emp. c. 23. says *Marcellus Empiricus, quam nos vitrum, Græci Isatida*
 Pl. N. H. *vocant.* The French called this Herb, in *Pliny's* Time,
 22 B. c. 1. *Glasfum*, and, to this Day, they call it *Guesde* as well as
Pastel. I am informed that the *Welch*, as well as the In-
 habitants of Lower Britany in France, still call it *Glasf*,
 so that it is probable the equivocal Application of *vitrum*
 may have given Occasion to the equivocal Sense of the
 Word *Glasf*.

Υ ΕΥΤΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΧΛΟ ΟΥΤΙΣ. This Account of the very odd
 Manners of this People is transcribed almost Word for
 Word by *Eustathius* in his Notes upon *Dionysius Periegetes*.
 Upon this Occasion I cannot help mentioning what *Strabo*
 Strabo, says of the *Irish*, *φανερῶς μίσγεσθαι ταῖς τι ἄλλαις γυναιξὶ,*
 4 B. *καὶ Μητράσι καὶ Ἀδελφαῖς;* but, lest we should think our-
 Cæsar G. selves less barbarous than our Neighbours, *Cæsar* says
 W. 5 B. the same Thing of the Britons.

public. They talk to themselves, they laugh by themselves, and dance, wherever they happen to be, as if they were shewing their Skill to others. The Greeks were eight Days in passing through the Enemy's Country, and that which belonged to the *Mosynæcians* their Allies.

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AFTER that they arrived among the *Chalybians*. These are few in Number, and subject to the *Mosynæcians*: and the greatest Part of them subsist by the Manufacture of Iron. From thence they came to the *Tibarenians*. This is a much more campaign Country, and their Towns, near the Sea, are not so strong. These the Generals were disposed to attack, that the Army might have the Advantage of some Plunder. For this Reason they declined receiving the Presents, which

^z Εἰς Χάλυβας. *Strabo* is of Opinion that these were the same with the *Alizonians* mentioned by *Homer*, *Strabo*, 12 B.

Αὐτὰρ Ἀλίζωνων Οὐδὶ δὲ Ἐπίτροφός ἦρχον
Τηλόθεν ἰξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρε' ἐστὶ γένεθλη.

And that either the Poet writ *ix* *χάλυβης*, or that the Inhabitants were originally called *Alybians*. By this Passage of *Homer* it seems they were, at that Time, as famous for their Mines of Silver, as they were afterwards for those of Iron.

^a Τιβαρηνός. These were called, by *Dionysius Periegetes*, *πολύβητος Τιβαρηνός*, which Epithet agrees very well with the Account our Author gives of their Country.

BOOK which the *Tibarenians* sent them, as a
 V. Token of Hospitality: But, having ordered those who brought them, to wait 'till they had conferred together, they offered Sacrifice: and, after many Victims were slain, all the Priests agreed that the Gods, by no Means, allowed them to make War upon this People. Hereupon, they accepted their Presents, and marching, as through a Country belonging to their Friends, they came to ^b *Cotyora*, a Greek City, and a Colony of the *Sinopians*, situated in the Territory of the *Tibarenians*.

Thus far the Army travelled by Land, having, in their Retreat from the Field of Battle near *Babylon* to *Cotyora*, made, in one hundred and twenty-two Marches, six hundred and twenty *Parasangas*, that is, eighteen thousand six hundred *Stadia*, in which they spent eight Months. Here they staid forty-five Days: During which they first offered Sacrifice to the Gods: ^c Then, dividing themselves, according to their

Arrian
 Periplus
 of the
 Euxine
 Sea.

^b Κοτύωρα. This Town was no more than a Village in *Arrian's* Time, and, as he says, a small one.

^c Κατ' ἴθρον. *Leunclavius* has translated this, I think,
 i pro-

their several Nations, made Proceffions, and celebrated *Gymnick* Games. After that they went out to get Provisions, taking some out of *Paphlagonia*, and the rest out of the Country of the *Cotyrians*; for they refused to supply them with a Market, or to admit their Sick into the City.

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IN the mean Time Embassadors arriv-
ed from *Sinope*; these were in Pain both
for the City of the *Cotyrians*, which be-
longed to them, and paid them Tribute,
and for the Country, which they heard
was plundered. When they came to the
Camp of the *Greeks*, they spoke thus,
Hecatonymus, who was esteemed a Man of
great Eloquence, speaking for the rest.
*Gentlemen! the City of Sinope hath sent us
hither first to commend you, for that, being
Greeks, you have overcome the Barbarians:
Next to congratulate you upon your safe Ar-
rival through many, and (as we are inform-*
ed)

properly, *Græcis per singulas Nationes distinctis*; and *Hutchinson*, who takes Notice of this Translation of *Leunclavius* in his Notes without any Mark of Disapprobation, has however chosen to render it *quisque pro more gentis*; I own I doubt whether *κατὰ ἑθνος* signifies *pro more gentis*. By the little Acquaintance I have had with the *Greek* Authors, I observe that *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια* is almost always the Expression they make Use of upon that Occasion.

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ed) grievous Hardships. But we have Reason to expect that, as we are Greeks also, we shall rather receive Favours, than Injuries from Greeks: Particularly, since we have never provoked you by any ill Treatment. I must acquaint you then, that Cotyora is our Colony, and that, having conquered this Country from the Barbarians, we have given it to them. For which Reason, they pay us the Tribute at which they are taxed, in the same Manner with the Inhabitants of Cerazunt and Trebifond: So that, whatever Injury you do them, the City of Sinope will look upon it as done to themselves. Now, we are informed that you have entered their Town by Force; that some of you are quartered in their Houses, and that you take what you want, out of the Country, without their Consent. These Things we cannot approve of, and, if you continue this Behaviour, we shall be obliged to enter into an Alliance with Corylas, and the Paphlagonians, and with any other Nation we can prevail upon to assist us.

THEN Xenophon rose up, and spoke thus in Behalf of the Soldiers. *We are come hither, O Men of Sinope! well satisfied*

fied with having preserved our Persons, and our Arms; for, to bring our Booty along with us, and, at the same Time, to fight with our Enemies was impossible. And now, since we arrived among the Greek Cities, at Trebifond, for Example, we paid for all the Provisions we had; because they supplied us with a Market: And, in Return for the Honours they did us, and the Presents they gave to the Army, we paid them all Respect, abstaining from those Barbarians, who were their Friends, and doing all the Mischief we were able to their Enemies, against whom they led us. Enquire of them what Usage they have received from us, for the Guides, whom that City has sent along with us through Friendship, are here present. But wherever we find no Market provided for us, whether among the Barbarians or Greeks, we supply ourselves with Provisions, not through Insolence, but Necessity. Thus we made the Carduchians, the Chaldæans, and the Taochians, (though no Subjects of the King, yet very warlike Nations) our Enemies, by being obliged to take what we wanted, because they refused to supply us with a Market; while we treated the Macrônians, though Barbarians, as Friends, and took nothing from

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them by Force, because they supplied us with the best Market they were able. And, if we have taken any Thing from the Cotyorians, who, you say, are your Subjects, they are themselves the Cause of it: for they have not behaved themselves to us, as Friends; but, shutting their Gates, would neither suffer us to come within their Walls, nor supply us with a Market without: And of this they lay the Fault upon the Person you have sent thither as their Governor. As to what you say concerning our quartering in their Houses by Force, we desired them to receive our Sick under their Roofs: they refusing to open the Gates, we passed through them into the City, without committing any other Act of Violence: And our Sick lodge now in their Houses without putting them to any Expence. We have, it is true, placed a Guard at the Gates, that our People may not be under the Power of your Governor, but that we may be at Liberty to carry them away, whenever we think proper. The rest of us, as you see, encamp, in Order, in the open Air, prepared, if any one does us a Favour, to return it, if an Injury to resent it. You threaten to enter into an Alliance with Corylas and the Paphlagonians, if you see convenient, against us.

Know

Know then, that, if you force us to it, we will encounter you both; (for we have already engaged much more numerous Enemies) besides, we have it also in our Power, if we think fit to enter into an Alliance with the Paphlagonian; for we are informed that he wants to make himself Master both of your City and of the maritime Towns. We shall therefore endeavour, by assisting him in attaining what he desires, to gain his Friendship.

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UPON this, the rest of the Embassadors shewed a visible Dislike of what *Hecatonymus* had said; and another of them advancing, said they were not come to declare War, but to express their Friendship. *And if, says he, you think fit to come to Sinope, we will receive you in a hospitable Manner, and, for the present, Directions shall be given to the Inhabitants of this Place to supply you with every Thing they can; for we are sensible you advance nothing but what is true.* After this the *Cotyrians* sent Presents to the Army, and the Generals of the *Greeks* also treated the Embassadors with all Hospitality. They all conferred together a considerable Time in a very friendly Manner,

BOOK and, among other Things, the Generals
 V. enquired concerning the Remainder of
 the Way, and both of every Thing that
 related to their respective Concerns. And
 thus ended that Day.

THE next Day the Generals thought proper to call the Soldiers together, and to consider of the rest of their March in the Presence of the *Sinopians*: for, if they determined to travel by Land, they thought these might be of Service to conduct them, for they were well acquainted with *Paphlagonia*; and, if by Sea, they imagined they should also want the Assistance of the *Sinopians*, for they alone seemed capable of providing a sufficient Number of Ships to transport them. Calling therefore the Embassadors, they consulted together; and the Generals desired that, as they themselves were *Greeks*, they would first shew their Hospitality by their Benevolence to *Greeks*, and by giving them the best Advice they were able.

THEN *Hecatonymus* rose up, and first made an Apology for having said that
 they

they would enter into an Alliance with BOOK
V.
the *Paphlagonian*, alledging that he did not say this with a View of making War upon the *Greeks*, but to let them see, that, having it in their Power to make an Alliance with the *Barbarians*, they preferred that of the *Greeks*. Being called upon to give his Advice, he first invoked the Gods: Then said thus. *If the Advice I am going to give you, appears to me the best, may I be prosperous; otherwise miserable: For the present Counsel seems to be of the Nature of those, which are termed*^d *Holy. If therefore I am found to advise you well, I shall have many to applaud me, and if ill, many to curse me. I am sensible then that we shall have much more Trouble, if you return by Sea; for, in that Case, we shall be obliged to supply you with Ships: Whereas, if you go by Land, it will be incumbent*

^d Ἱερὰ συμβουλή. We find by this Passage of *Xenophon*, and by another in *Plato*, that it was a common Saying among the *Greeks*, that Counsel was a divine Thing. If, *Plato* in says the latter to *Demodocus*, Counsel is called a divine Thing, none can be more so than that which relates to the present Question, this was Education, ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ, ὃ Δημόδοκε, καὶ λέγεται γὰρ συμβουλὴ ἱερὸν χρεῖμα εἶναι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλη ἡτις ἐστὶν Ἱερὰ καὶ αὐτὴ ἀν εἶη, περὶ ἧς σὺ νῦν συλλέγεαι. *D'Ablancourt* was sensible this Parenthesis could have no Grace in a modern Language, but I doubt whether that Reason will be thought to justify his leaving it out.

BOOK cumbent on you to fight your Way through.

V.  However, I must speak what I think; for I am well acquainted both with the Country of the Paphlagonians, and with their Strength. Their Country contains many very fair Plains, and Mountains of a prodigious Height. And first of all I know the Place, where you must, of Necessity, enter it; for there is but one Pass, and that lies between two Points of a Rock exceeding high. These a very few Men, posted there, may defend: and, if the Enemy are once Masters of this Pass, all the Men in the World cannot force their Way. This I can make appear to any one you think proper to send along with me. On the other Side of this Pass, I am well assured, you will find Plains, and, upon them, a Body of Horse, which the Barbarians themselves think exceeds all the Cavalry the King is Master of. These, though lately summoned, did not attend him, their Commander being too haughty to obey. But, admit you could even seize the Pass between these Mountains unobserved, and prevent the Enemy, and, afterwards, in the Plain, defeat their Horse, and Foot, whose Numbers amount to above one hundred and twenty thousand Men, you will still find several Rivers in your Way:

Way: First, the ^e Thermodon, which is three hundred Feet over: The Passage of which seems to me very difficult, particularly, when you have a numerous Army in Front, and another, in your Rear. Secondly, the ^f Iris: This is also three hundred Feet Broad. The third River you will meet with, is the ^g Halys not less than two Stadia in Breadth. This you cannot pass without Boats; and who is there to supply you with them? The ^h Parthenius is, in like Manner, impassable. This River you would arrive at, if you could pass the Halys. So that I do not look upon this Road as only difficult, but absolutely impassable. Whereas, if you go by Sea, you may sail from hence to Sinope, and, from Sinope, to Heraclea, and, from Heraclea, there will be no Difficulty, either in going by Land, or by Sea: For there you will find great Numbers of Ships.

WHEN

^e Τὸν Θερμόδοντα. See note ^p, page 99, on the sixth Book.

^f Ἰρις. This River rises out of the Kingdom of Pontus, Strabo, and, having received the Lycus, runs through the Plain ^{12 B.} of Themiscyra, and, from thence, falls into the Euxine Sea.

^g Ἀλυν. See note ^q, page 99, upon the sixth Book.

^h Παρθένιος. See note ^r, page 100, upon the sixth Book.

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V.

WHEN he had done speaking, some suspected he said this out of Friendship to *Corylas*, (for there was an Intercourse of Hospitality between them) others that he expected to be rewarded for his Advice, and some that he said it, fearing lest, if they went by Land, they should do some Damage to the Country of the *Sinopians*. However the *Greeks* voted to go by Sea. After that *Xenophon* said, O Men of *Sinope*! The Soldiers have determined to go in the Manner you advise. But thus the Case stands. We are contented to go by Sea, provided we are furnished with such a Number of Ships, that not a Man of us shall be left behind. But, if it is proposed, that some of us should be left, and some set sail, we are resolved not to go on board at all: Because we are sensible that, wherever we are the strongest, we shall not only be safe, but get Provisions also; and that, if we are any where found weaker than our Enemies, we expect no better Usage than to be made Slaves. The *Sinopians*, hearing this, desired the *Greeks* would send Ambassadors to them, and accordingly they sent *Callimachus* an *Arcadian*, *Ariston* an *Athenian*, and *Samylas* an *Achaian*; who set out immediately.

In

IN the mean Time *Xenophon*, considering the great Number of *Greek* heavy-armed Men, of Targeteers, Archers, Slingers, and Horse, who, by long Experience, were now become good Troops, looked upon it as an Enterprize of great Reputation to add to the Acquisitions of *Greece*, that of a Country with the Power annexed to it, by building a City upon the *Euxine* Sea, where so great an Army could not be got together without a vast Expence. He had Reason to think this City would grow considerable, both from the Number of his own Men, and of the neighbouring Inhabitants. Calling therefore *Silanus* of *Ambracia* to him, the same who had been Soothsayer to *Cyrus*, he offered Sacrifice upon this Occasion, before he communicated his Thoughts to any of the Soldiers. But *Silanus*, fearing this should take Effect, and that the Army should settle in some Place, acquainted the Soldiers that *Xenophon* proposed to detain them there, and, by building a City, to acquire Reputation and Power to himself. The Design of *Silanus* in this was to get to *Greece* as

VOL. II. H soon

BOOK soon as possible, having saved the three
 V. thousand ¹ Daricks, which he received
 from Cyrus, when, sacrificing by his Order, he told him the Truth concerning the ten Days. As soon as the Soldiers were informed of this, some thought it was best for them to stay there; but the greatest Part disapproved of it: And *Timasion* the *Dardanian*, and *Thorax* the *Bæotian*, told some Merchants of *Heraclea* and *Sinope*, who were present, that, if they did not supply the Men with Money sufficient to buy Provisions when they set sail, they were in Danger of having so great an Army settle in their Neighbourhood. For, said they, *Xenophon* is the Author of this Resolution, and advises us, as soon as the Ships arrive, immediately to speak to the Army in these Terms. *Gentlemen! we observe you are at a Loss both how to get Provisions for your Voyage, and enrich your Families in some Measure, when you come Home: But, if you have a Mind to make Choice of some Part of the inhabited Country that lies round the Euxine Sea, and possess your selves of it, and that*

¹ Δαρικαί. See note ^m, page 9, Vol. I.

that those who are desirous to return home, BOOK V.
 may go away, while the rest stay here, we
 are now furnished with Ships for that Pur-
 pose: So that you have it in your Power to
 make an unexpected Descent upon any Part
 of the Country you think fit.

THE Merchants, hearing this, inform-
 ed their Cities of it: And *Timasion* of
Dardanus sent *Eurymachus* also of *Dar-*
danus, and *Thorax* of *Bæotia* with them
 to confirm it. As soon as the Inhabi-
 tants of *Sinope* and *Heraclea* were ac-
 quainted with this, they sent to *Timasion*
 to engage him, in Consideration of a
 Sum of Money, to persuade the Army
 to sail out of the *Euxine* Sea. He was
 pleased with the Offer, and spoke thus
 in the Assembly of the Soldiers. Gentle-
 men! we ought not to think of staying here,
 or to prefer any other Country to Greece.
 I hear some People are offering Sacrifice
 upon this Occasion, without even acquainting
 you with their Purpose; but I promise you,
 if you sail from hence the first ^k Day of the
 Month,

^k Από θυμνίας. We find by several Passages in *Xeno-*
phon and other Authors, that the Soldiers among the
Greeks

BOOK Month, to give each of you a ¹ *Cyzicene*, for
 V. your monthly Pay. My Design is to lead
 you

Greeks received their Pay monthly: The Interest of Money was also payable monthly among the Greeks, as it was among the Romans. As the Payment both of the Principal and Interest, and the rigorous Methods allowed by Law to compel it, often occasioned great Convulsions among the latter, it may not be amiss to make some cursory Observations upon this Subject, particularly, since *Dacier*, in his Notes upon *Horace*, and many other modern Authors have very much misrepresented it; it is certain then that this monthly Interest was one *per Cent.* by the Law of the twelve Tables, that is, twelve *per Cent. per Ann.* this they called *unciarium Fœnus*; and, what is very extraordinary, *Livy* says that, by the Establishment of this Interest, Usury was made easy, *unciario fœnore B. facta levata Usura erat*; an evident Sign of the Scarcity of Money; but then it must be considered that the Year, to which this Reflection of *Livy* relates, was so early as the 399th of Rome. Afterwards, that is, in the 408th Year of Rome, *T. Manlius Torquatus* and *C. Plautius* being Consuls, this monthly Interest was reduced to half *per Cent.* that is, to six *per Cent. per Ann.* *Semunciarium ex unciario fœnus factum.* But to return to the *romæna*, the Year of the Greeks was *Luni-Solar*, that is, formed of twelve Synodical Months making in all but 354 Days, with an Interpolation of seven Months in nineteen Years, invented by *Meton*, (from whom it was called *Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτός*) to answer the annual Difference of eleven Days between the Lunar and Solar Year; this was their civil Year; and, as their new Year began at the first new Moon after the Summer Solstice (the Romans beginning theirs at the first after the Winter Solstice) it necessarily happened that the first Day of the Year of both began about Sun-set, for at that Time only the new Moon became visible. It is very possible that the Crescent with which *Diana* is represented, is owing to the Custom of proclaiming the new Moon, particularly, if, as I observed upon another Occasion, *Diana* and the Egyptian *Isis*, who is often represented with a Crescent upon her Head, were the same Divi.

Dacier's
Notes upon
the 2d Sat.
of the 1st
Book of
Horace.
Tacitus
Annal. 5 B.
Livy 7 B.
19 c.

Livy 7 B.
27 c.
Strauchius
Brev.
Chron.
p. 126, &c.

Newton's
Chrono-
logy, p.
75, &c.

you into Troas, from whence I am banished: **BOOK**
 Where my Fellow-Citizens will assist you, for **V.**
 I know they will receive me with Pleasure.
 Thence I propose to carry you to those Parts,
 where you shall enrich yourselves: For I am
 acquainted with Æolia, Phrygia, and Troas,
 and

Divinity. This Ceremony of proclaiming the new Moon Tourne-
 still continues in the *Levant*, where the *Turks*, whose fort 14
 Year is Lunar, publish, with great Solemnity, the first Letter.
 Appearance of the new Moon of their Month of *Rama-*
zan, which is their Lent.

¹ Κυζικηνόν. *Hesychius* and *Phavorinus* inform us that
 the *Cyzicene* was a Coin famous for being well struck,
 and that it had a Woman's Head on one Side; to which
Suidas adds, that, on the other, was the Head of a Lion.
Demosthenes tells us they were worth 28 *Attick Drachms*, *Demost.*
 that is, 18*s.* and 1*d.* Sterling. The Woman's Head is, in *Phor-*
 possibly *Cybele*, who was supposed to be drawn by Lions, *mion.*
 and who was worshipped in a particular Manner at *Arbuth-*
Pessinus in *Phrygia*, not far from *Cyzicus*, whose tutelar *not.*
 God, however, was, I imagine, *Hercules*, whom they
 looked upon as the Founder of their City, as may be
 seen by a Medal of *Domitian*, on the Reverse of which is
 a *Hercules* with this Inscription ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ
 ΚΥΖΙΚΗΝΩΝ. But we have great Reason to con- *Strabo,*
 clude that the Woman's Head is designed for *Cybele* from *12 B.*
 what we find in *Strabo*, who says that near to *Cyzicus*
 stood a Temple of *Cybele* built by the *Argonauts* upon the *Beger Th.*
 Mountain *Dindymon*, from which *Cybele* was called *Dindy-*
mene. This being so, the Globe and the Fish, and par- *Brand.*
 ticularly the Ears of Corn and Bunches of Grapes with *vol. I.*
 which she is crowned, will be very proper Symbols of *p. 490.*
 universal Nature, which, as I endeavoured to shew upon *See note*
 another Occasion, was represented by *Cybele*. *D'Ablan-*
court is of Opinion that the *Turkish Sequin* is derived from *n, upon*
Cyziquin; but *Menage* says that it comes from the *Italian*
Zecchino, a *Venetian Ducat*, which takes its Name from
Zecca, the Place where it is coined.

BOOK and with all the Country belonging to the
V. Government of Pharnabazus; with one of
them, by being born there, and with the other,
by having served there under Clearchus, and
Dercellidas.

IMMEDIATELY *Thorax*, the *Bæotian*,
(who had a perpetual Contest with *Xenophon* for the Command) rose up, and
said, if they sailed out of the *Euxine*
Sea, they might settle in the *Chersonesus*,
a Country of great Beauty and Fertility:
Where those, who were willing, might
inhabit, and from whence those who
were not so, might return Home. He
added, that it was ridiculous to hunt
after Lands among the *Barbarians*, when
others, of a great Extent, offered them-
selves in *Greece*. And, 'till you arrive there,
says he, I, as well as *Timasion*, promise
you Pay. This he said from being ac-
quainted with what the Inhabitants of
Heraclea and *Sinope* had promised to
Timasion upon Condition the Army set
sail. All this Time *Xenophon* was silent.
Then *Philesius* and *Lycon*, both *Achaians*,
said, it was not to be suffered, that *Xeno-*
phon

phon should persuade the Soldiers in private to stay, and offer Sacrifice upon this Occasion, without letting the Army partake of the Sacrifice, yet say nothing of all this in public. So that he was under a Necessity of rising up, and of speaking as follows.

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V.

GENTLEMEN! *I offer Sacrifice, as you are sensible, to the utmost of my Abilities, both for you and myself, to the End that my Words, my Thoughts, and Actions may be employed in those Things that are most for the Credit and Advantage of us all. And even now I was consulting the Gods by Sacrifice, whether it would be more expedient to mention this and treat with you about it, or not to concern myself at all in the Matter. Here Silanus, the Soothsayer, assured me, that the Victims, which is of the greatest Moment, were favourable, (for he knew that I, by being constantly present at the Sacrifices, was not unacquainted with these Things) but informed me, at the same Time, that, according to them, some Fraud and Treachery seemed to threaten me: And in this, indeed, he was in the right, since he himself designed treacherously*

BOOK

V.

rously to accuse me before you; for he has spread a Report that I had already purposed to effect this without your Approbation. But the Truth is, when I saw you in Want, I considered by what Means you might possess yourselves of some Town, to the End that those among you who are willing, might set sail immediately, and that those who were not so, might stay 'till they had acquired something to carry home to their Families. But now I find both the Inhabitants of Heraclea and Sinope are sending us Ships, and that these Men promise you your Pay from the Beginning of the Month, I look upon it as an advantageous Circumstance for us to be conducted, with Safety, to the Place we desire, and to be ^m paid for being preserved. For this Reason I not only give over all Thoughts of that kind myself, but desire those who came to me to declare themselves in Favour of that Measure, to desist also. For this is my Sense of the Matter; while you continue together,

as

^m Μισθὸν τῆς σωτηρίας. This appears to me far preferable to μισθὸν τῆς πορείας; it not only makes the Sense stronger, but seems to be the natural Result of σωζομένους, which immediately precedes it. I am sorry to differ both from Leunclavius and Hutchinson upon this Occasion. D'Ablancourt has said *de recevoir récompense pour retourner en votre país*; which gives the Sense, but not the Beauty of the Greek Expression.

as you are now, in great Numbers, you will be sure to find Esteem, and never to want Provisions; (for Victory carries with it a Right to whatever belongs to the Conquered) But, if you suffer yourselves to be divided, and the Army to be broken into small Bodies, you will neither be able to find Subsistence, or have Reason to be pleased with your Treatment. My Opinion therefore is the same with yours, that we ought to go on to Greece: And further, if any one stays behind, or is taken endeavouring to desert his Companions before the whole Army arrives in a Place of Safety, that he be punished as an Offender. And whoever is of this Opinion, let him hold up his Hand. And they all held up their Hands.

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V.

HOWEVER Silanus cried out, and endeavoured to shew that every one ought to be at Liberty to go away. This the Soldiers would not bear; but threatened him, if they took him endeavouring to make his Escape, to inflict the Punishment on him. After this, when the Inhabitants of *Heraclea* were informed that the Greeks had resolved to sail out of the

BOOK *Euxine* Sea, and that *Xenophon* himself
 V. had ^a put the Question, they sent the
 Ships, but disappointed *Timasion* and
Thorax of the Money they had promised
 them to pay the Soldiers. Hereupon
 those who undertook for it, were con-
 founded, and afraid of the Army; and,
 taking with them the rest of the Gene-
 rals, who were privy to their former
 Designs, (these were all, except *Neon* the
Afinian, who commanded under *Cheiri-*
sophus, then absent) they came to *Xeno-*
phon, and told him they were sorry for
 what had passed, and thought the best
 Thing they could do, since they had
 Ships, was to sail to the River *Phasis*, and
 possess themselves of the Country belong-
 ing to the *Phasians*; of whom the Son
 of *Aetes* was, at that Time, King. *Xeno-*
phon made Answer that he would men-
 tion nothing of this Kind to the Army:
But, says he, do you assemble them, and, if
you think fit, propose it. Upon this, *Tima-*
sion the *Dardanian* gave his Opinion that
 they ought not to call the Soldiers toge-
 ther; but that each of the Generals
 should

^a Επιστηφισας. See note ^d, page 7, Vol. II.

should first endeavour to persuade his own Captains to come into it. So they departed to put this in Execution. BOOK
V.

IN the mean Time the Soldiers were informed of what was in Agitation: and *Neon* told them that *Xenophon*, having prevailed upon the rest of the Generals, designed to deceive the Army, and carry them back to the *Phasis*. The Soldiers hearing this, repented it, and holding Assemblies, and private Meetings among themselves, gave great Reason to apprehend they would break out into the same Violences they had committed upon the Persons of the Heralds of the *Colchians*, and the Commissaries of Provisions, all of whom they had stoned to Death, except those who escaped to the Sea. As soon as *Xenophon* perceived this, he resolved immediately to call the Army together, and not suffer them to meet of their own Accord: So he ordered the Cryer to assemble them: They readily obeyed the Summons. Then *Xenophon*, without accusing the other Generals of coming to him privately, spoke to them in the following Manner:

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V.

I am informed, Gentlemen! that some People accuse me of a design to deceive you, and carry you to the Phasis. Hear me therefore, for Heaven's Sake, and, if I appear guilty, I do not desire to depart hence, before I receive the Punishment that is due to my Crime: But, if you find they accuse me wrongfully, I hope you will treat them as they deserve. I make no Doubt, but you all know in what Quarter the Sun rises, and where it sets; and that the Way to Greece lies Westward, that to the Barbarians, Eastward. Is there any one therefore who can make you believe that the Sun rises where it sets, and sets where it rises? You are also sensible that the North Wind carries you out of the Euxine Sea to Greece, and the South to the Phasis; and when the Wind is in the North, you always say it is fair for Greece. Can any one therefore so far impose upon you, as to persuade you to go on Board when the Wind is in the South? But suppose I embark you in a Calm: I shall however sail but in one Ship, while you sail, at least, in a hundred. How therefore can I either compel you to keep me company against your Consent, or deceive you with regard to the Place to which

which I carry you? But, let us further sup- BOOK
V.
pose that I do deceive you, and, by some
magick Art, carry you to the Phasis, and
also that we land there: You will soon be
sensible that you are not in Greece; and I,
who have deceived you shall be but one Man,
while you, who have been deceived by me,
will be near ten thousand with your Arms in
your Hands. By what Means therefore can
one Man court Punishment more effectually,
than by forming Designs so prejudicial both
to himself, and you? But these Rumours are
spread by weak Men, who envy me because I
am honoured by you; though without Reason:
For which of them do I hinder from proposing
any Thing for your Advantage, if he can,
from fighting both for you or himself, if he is
willing, or from watching for your Safety,
if he is disposed to undertake that Care.
Why should I hinder them? When you chuse
your Commanders do I oppose the Pretensions
of any Person? I° resign; let him take the
Command: Only let him make it appear he
can do something for your Advantage. But

I

° Παρίημι. Nicias, at the Close of one of his Speeches Thucydi-
to the Athenians, uses this Word in the same Sense, with des, 6 B.
the Addition of ἀρχήν· ἵι δὲ τῷ ἄλλῳ δοκίῃ, παρίημι αὐτῷ
τῇ ἀρχῇ.

BOOK

V.

I have said enough of this. If any of you thinks himself in Danger of being deceived, or that any other Person has deceived him in this, let him declare it. But since you have heard enough of this Subject, I desire you would not depart 'till I have acquainted you with a Thing, that I find begins to shew itself in the Army; which, if it makes any Progress, and becomes what it threatens to be, it is high Time for us to take proper Measures, that we may not appear both to Gods, and Men, to Friends, and Enemies, the most abandoned, and most infamous of all Men, and consequently incur a general Contempt. The Soldiers, hearing this, wondered what it might be, and desired him to go on: so he resumed his Discourse. You know there were some Towns upon the Mountains belonging to those Barbarians who were in Alliance with the Inhabitants of Cera-zunt; from whence some of the People came down to us, and sold us Cattle, and other Things. Some of you, I believe, went into the nearest of these Towns, and, after you had bought Provisions there, returned to the Camp. Clearatus one of the Captains, finding this Place both small, and unguarded,

be-

cause the Inhabitants looked upon themselves to be in Friendship with us, marched against them in the Night, with a Design to plunder it, without acquainting any of us with his Purpose. For he determined if he had made himself Master of the Place, to have returned no more to the Army; but to have gone on board the Ship, in which his Companions were sailing by the Coast, and, with his Booty, to have escaped out of the Euxine Sea. And all this was concerted between him and his Companions who were on board, as I am now informed. Calling therefore together as many as he could prevail upon to follow him, he led them against the Town. But the Day surprizing them in their March, the Inhabitants got together, and defended themselves from their strong Places so well, both with missive Weapons, and their Swords, that Clearatus himself and several others were slain: Part of them however escaped to Cerazunt. This happened the same Day we left Cerazunt, to march hither. Some of those also, who were to sail along the Coast, were still in that City, having not as yet weighed Anchor. After this, as the Inhabitants of Cerazunt inform us, three of the Elders

BOOK *Elders came from the Town, desiring to be*
V. *introduced to the Assembly of the Greeks;*
but, not finding us, they told the Citizens of
Cerazunt, they wondered what we meant by
attacking them. These assured them that the
Attempt was not countenanced by public Au-
thority; with which they were very well
satisfied, and resolved to sail hither, in order
to give us an Account of what had passed,
and to let us know that they gave leave to
those, who were willing, to carry off the
Dead and bury them. It happened that
some of the Greeks, who had fled to Cera-
zunt, were still there. These, perceiving
whither the Barbarians proposed to go, had
the Confidence to throw Stones at them them-
selves, and to encourage others to do the same.
By this Means these Ambassadors, being three
in Number, were stoned to Death. After the
Fact was committed, some of the Inhabitants
of Cerazunt, came to the generals, and in-
formed us of what had happened. These Pro-
ceedings gave us great Concern, and we con-
sulted together with them, in what Manner
the Greeks, who were slain, might be buried.
While we were sitting in Consultation with-
out the Quarter of the heavy-armed Men, on

a sudden, we heard a great Uproar, and People crying out knock ^P them down, knock them down, stone them, stone them; and immediately we saw great Numbers running to those who cried out, some with Stones in their Hands, others taking them up. Upon this the Inhabitants of Cerazunt, ^a having been Witnesses of what had happened in their own Town, were frightened, and ran to their Ships: Some of us also, I do assure you, were not without Fear. For my Part, I went direct-

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^P Παις, Παις, βάλλε, βάλλε. Literally attack them both Sword in Hand and with missive Weapons; *cominus eminusque incessē*, which I should think, might do as well as *cæde, cæde, feri, feri*, in the Latin Translators: I have considered the Greeks here as a Mob, which they were upon this Occasion, and have consequently made use of Terms very familiar to an English Mob in Tumults. For the same Reason I think *d'Ablancourt* has said very properly *tue, tue*: though I am very sensible that the French Troops use this Word when they pursue the Enemy, as they call it, *l'épée dans les reins*.

^a Ως ἂν ἰωρακότες τὸ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς πρᾶγμα. If the Latin Translators, by rendering this *ut qui Facinus apud se designatum etiam vidissent*, mean *perpetratum*, I think that Signification of the Word *designo* is too uncommon for a Translation; but, if they mean it in the ordinary Acceptation of the Word, the Fact was not only *designatum*, but *commisum*; for what is said of the Fear of the Inhabitants of Cerazunt, visibly relates to the Outrage committed by the Greeks upon the Persons of the three Ambassadors, who were stoned to Death in their Town. *D'Ablancourt* has, I think, said much better, *instruits parce qui s'étoit passé dans leur ville*.

BOOK

V.

directly up to them, and asked them what the Matter was? Some of those I enquired of, knew nothing of it; yet had Stones in their Hands. At last meeting with one, who did know, he told me that the Commissaries of Provisions oppressed the Army in a most grievous manner. While he was saying this, one of the Soldiers perceived the Commissary Zelarchus retiring towards the Sea, and cried out; the rest, hearing this, as if a wild Boar, or a Stag had been roused, ran at him. The Citizens of Cerazunt, seeing the Soldiers making towards them, and thinking themselves aimed at, fled in all Haste, and ran into the Sea. Some of our Men ran in after them, and those, who could not swim, were drowned. What do you think these Men were afraid of? They had committed no Crime; they must imagine that some Madness, like that of Dogs, had seized our Men. If these Things continue, consider what will be the Condition of the Army. You will not have it in your Power, by a general Consent, to make either War or Peace, as you see convenient: But every private Man may lead the Army upon whatever Enterprize he pleases. And if, at any time, Ambassadors
come

come to you to sue for Peace, or for any BOOK
V.
 Thing else, any one may put them to Death, and thereby prevent your being informed of their Demands. The Consequence of which will be, that those, whom you by a general Voice, appoint to command you, will be no longer regarded: But whoever erects himself to be your General, and pleases to cry stone them, stone them, may, if he finds the same Obedience that was lately given, put to Death not only your Commander, but any private Man, untried. Consider what Services these self-elected Generals have done for us. If Zelarchus, the Commissary, is guilty, he has, by sailing away, escaped Punishment: If he is Innocent, he has left the Army from the Fear of being unjustly put to Death, without Trial. Those who have stoned the Ambassadors, have done you this Piece of Service, they have made it unsafe for you alone, of all the Greeks, to go to Cerazunt without a Force sufficient to protect you; and not less so even with ¹ a Herald to bring off
 your

¹ Σὺν κηρύκειῳ. Κηρύκειον Or Κηρύκειον, for it is written both ways, was the Caduceus, which Heralds carried in their Hands, when they were sent, upon public Occasions, from one Army to another. It is particularly described by the Greek Scholiast upon *Thucydides*; but so

BOOK your Dead, whom, before this, the same Per-

V.

sons who killed them, gave you leave to bury :
 For who that had a Hand in killing Heralds, will serve in that Capacity? However, we have desired the Citizens of Cerazunt to bury them. If these things are right, give them a public Sanction, that, as Attempts of this Kind are to be expected, every Man may be upon his Guard, and endeavour to pitch his Tent upon Places of Advantage and Strength. But, if you look upon them rather as the Actions of wild Beasts, than of Men, consider how to put a stop to them? Otherwise, how, in the Name of the Gods, shall we offer Sacrifice with Chearfulness, if we are guilty of Impiety? Or how shall we fight with our Enemies, if we kill one another? What City will receive us as Friends, when they see us guilty of such Enormities? Who will bring Provisions to us, with any Confidence, if we are found to offend in Things of so great Moment? As to the Applause which we promised ourselves with so much Confidence, who will

many Bas-reliefs, and other Monuments of Antiquity, represent Mercury with his Caduceus in his Hand, that I think it needless to translate what he says of it. It is reported to have been a Present from Apollo to Mercury, in exchange for the Harp, which Tradition I find, by Diod. Sic.
 1 B. dorus Siculus, was derived from the Egyptians.

will speak well of us if we dishonour ourselves by such Actions? For I am well assured that we should condemn others, were they guilty of them. BOOK
V.

UPON this, they all rose up, and said the Authors of these Disorders should be punished; that it should be unlawful to begin such Enormities for the future, and that those who were guilty of it, should be put to death. They then ordered that the generals should bring them all to their Trial; where it should be enquired whether any Person had received any other Injury since the Death of Cyrus; and appointed the Captains to be the Judges. At the same Time, upon *Xenophon's* Motion, and the Concurrence of

* Παραινεῖντο δὲ Ξενοφῶντες — ἴδοξε καὶ καθαίρειν τὸ στρατιῶμα. *Xenophon* seems to imitate *Agamemnon*, upon this Occasion, who, as *Homer* tells us, having at last sent *Homer Chryseis* back to her Father with a Hecatomb, to appease *Il. α.* the Anger of *Apollo*, orders the Greek Army to be purified, and it was purified accordingly;

Λαὸς δ' Ἀτρεΐδης ἀπολυμαίνεισθαι ἄνωγεν,
Οἱ δ' ἀπολυμαίναντο, καὶ εἰς ἄλλα λύματα ἔβαλλον.

Thus translated by Mr. Pope,

*The Host to expiate, next the King prepares,
With pure Lustrations, and with solemn Pray'rs,
Wash'd by the briny Wave, the pious Train
Are cleans'd; and cast th' Ablutions in the Main.*

ο

There

BOOK of the Priests, it was resolved to purify
V. the Army. And the Army was purified
 accordingly.

THEY further decreed that the Generals themselves should be called to an Account for their past Conduct; and, upon their Trial, *Philefius* and *Xanthicles* were condemned in a Fine of twenty Mines, to the Amount of which sum they had imbezelled ' the Effects that had been taken

There can be no doubt, as Mr. Pope has very properly observed from *Eustathius*, that λύματα is derived from λύνω, which justifies him in the Use of the Word *Ablutions*, a Word much more decent than those made Use of, upon this Occasion, by all former Translators. It was a prevailing Opinion, it seems, among the Ancients, that the Water of the Sea had a sovereign Virtue in Expiations: It was from this Opinion that *Iphigenia* says in *Euripides*

Iph. in
Taur. 5.

Æt. Sc. 1.

Θάλασσα κλύει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

Herodot.
in Erato.

τῶν Γαυλιτικῶν χρημάτων. The ancient Lexicons say that Γαῦλον signifies a certain Kind of Ship used by the Phœnicians, but I find Γαυλός in *Herodotus* for a Phœnician Ship, where he says that *Dionysius* of Phocæa — sailed to Phœnicia, and, having sunk the Merchant Ships, and taken a great Booty, sailed to Sicily, Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Φωκαεὺς — ἔπλεε εἰς Φοινίκην· γαυλὸς δὲ ἐμβαῦτα καταδύσαι, καὶ χρεῖματα λαβὼν πολλὰ, ἔπλεε εἰς Σικελίην; so that γαυλικά χρεῖματα may, no doubt, signify the Freight of those Ships; but, in this Place, I imagine, it means the Cargoes of those Ships the Greeks had taken, which Cargoes our Author in the Beginning of this Book, calls ἀγώγισμα; he also says, in the same Place, that the Greeks, having taken out the Cargoes of these Ships, appointed Guards to take Care of them. It is very probable that *Philefius* and *Xanthicles*

taken out of the Ships, and committed to their Charge. *Sophænetus* was fined ten Mines, for that, being chosen a Commander, he had neglected his Duty. Some accused *Xenophon*, complaining they had been beaten by him, and brought their Accusation against him for abusing them. Upon this, *Xenophon* rising up, desired the first Person, who appeared against him, to acquaint the Judges where he had been beaten. He answered, *where we were dying with Cold, and there was Abundance of Snow.* *Xenophon* replied: *If, during the Storm you speak of, when we had no Victuals, nor so much Wine as would serve us to smell to; when many of us were spent with Labour, and the Enemy at our Heels, if, in that Season I was abusive, I own myself more "vicious than Asses,*

which,
ibides might have the Command of these Guards, and consequently the Charge of these Effects, and that they might have imbezzled as much of them as amounted to twenty Mines; if the Reader will cast his Eye on note ^c, page 35, on the first Book, he will find that *χηματα* is often made use of by the best Authors to signify Effects. There seems to be so great a Relation between this Passage, and that in the Beginning of this Book, that I cannot approve of *Pecuniam de Navigiis coactam* in *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson*, and much less of *du prix des Navires* in *d'Abblancourt*.

^u Τὸν ὅλον ὑπερισχότερον εἶναι. Every Body knows that Asses, and Mules, their Offspring, have such an inbred Viciousness, that no Fatigue can subdue it.

BOOK *which, through Viciousness, are said to be*
V. *insensible of Fatigue. However say, for*
what Reason you were beaten. Did I demand
any Thing of you, and beat you, because you
refused it? Did I insist upon your restoring
any Thing? Was it in struggling to subdue
you to my Passion, or when I was drunk,
that I abused you? And, upon his saying
that it was nothing of all this, Xenophon
asked him whether he belonged to the
heavy-armed Men? He answered, no: If
to the Targeteers; neither, says he: but
I was driving a Mule, at the Desire of my
Comrades, being a free Man. Upon this,
Xenophon called him to Mind, and asked
him, are you not the Man, who carried
the sick Person? The same, says he, for
you forced me to it, and threw about the
Baggage, that belonged to my Comrades.
But, says Xenophon, in this Manner I
threw about their Baggage: I distributed
it to others to carry, with Orders to re-
turn it to me: And having received every
Thing safe, I restored them to you, after
you had shewn me the Man I gave you
in Charge: But I desire, says he, you will
hear how this Matter was, for it is well
worth while.

ONE of the Men, being unable to continue his March, was left behind. This Man I knew no otherwise than that he belonged to the Army; however, I obliged you to carry him that he might not perish: For, as I remember, the Enemy were at our Heels. This the other confessed. Then, says Xenophon, after I had ordered you to go before, I quickly overtook you again, as I came up with the Rear-Guard, and found you digging a Pit, with a Design to bury the Man; and stopping I commended you: But the Man, drawing in his Leg, while we stood by, all who were present, cried out, that he was alive; and you said whatever you thought fit, as I will not carry him. Upon which I struck you, you say, and you say true: For you seemed to me to be sensible the Man was alive. But, says the other, Did he die the less, after I shewed him to you? We must all die, replies Xenophon, but are we for that Reason to be buried alive? At this they all cried out, that he had not beaten him so much as he deserved. Then Xenophon desired the rest to inform the Judges for what Reason each of them had

BOOK been beaten; but they not rising up,
V. he spoke thus:

I own, Gentlemen! that I have struck a great many of the Men for not keeping their Ranks. These ought to have been contented with being preserved by your means, while you marched in Order and fought where it was necessary; but, instead of that, they wanted to leave their Ranks, and run before you for Plunder, that they might have the Advantage over you. Had we all done the same, we had all been destroyed. I own also that finding some overcome with Sloth, unwilling to rise, and ready to abandon themselves to the Enemy, I struck them, and forced them to march. For, being myself once obliged, when it was excessive cold, to stay for some of the Men, who were getting their Baggage ready, and sitting, for a considerable Time, I found myself scarce able to rise and stretch out my Legs. Having therefore had the Experience of this in myself, afterwards, when I saw any one sitting down, and indulging his Sloth, I drove him before me; for Motion and vigorous Efforts created Warmth and

and ^z Suppleness, while Sitting down and Rest, I observed, made the Blood to congeal, and the Toes to rot off: Which you are sensible was the Case of a great many. Others, who suffered themselves to be left behind through Laziness, and, by that Means, hindered you, who were in the Van, and us, who were in the Rear, from advancing, I might possibly strike with my Fist, that they might not be struck by the Spear of the Enemy. These therefore, who have been thus preserved, may, if they have suffered any unjust Treatment from me, now be relieved; whereas, had they fallen under the Power of the Enemy, what Relief could they have had, though their Treatment had been ever so grievous? I speak to you in all Simplicity. If I have punished any one for
his

^z Τυρότητα. Τυρότης, in this Place, is used by Xenophon in the same Sense in which the Greeks say ὑπερὶ ἀγκάλαι, which Horace has finely translated in that Ode, ⁵ B. ¹⁵ Od. where he represents the false Neera holding him in her Arms, while she swears Fidelity to him.

*Arctius atque bederâ procera astringitur Ilex,
Lentis adhærens Brachiis.*

And when our Author, in his Art of Horsemanship, recommends a Colt that moves his Knees *with freedom*, he says τὰ γὰρ μὴ γόνατα ἢ βαδίζων ὁ πῶκος ὑγρῶς κέρπτῃ.

BOOK *his own Good, I am willing to submit to*
 V. *the same Chastisement that Parents receive*
from their Children, and Masters from their
Scholars. Physicians also use Incisions and
Caufticks for the Good of their Patients.
If you imagine I did these Things through
Insolence, consider with yourselves, that now,
with the Assistance of the Gods, I entertain
greater Hopes and Confidence than at that
Time, and drink more Wine, yet strike no
Man: For I see you are now in a Calm.
But, when a Storm arises, and the Sea runs
high, do not you find that the ^y Pilot, for
a Nod only, quarrels with those who are
at the Head of the Ship, and the Steersman
with those at the Stern? Because, upon those
Occasions, the least Fault is enough to ruin
every Thing. You yourselves then determined
that their Chastisement was just; for you were
present with Arms in your Hands, to assist
them, if you had thought proper, not with
Bil-

^y Πρωτεύς. Πρωτεύς in Greek, and *Proreta* in Latin, signify an Officer, whose Business it was to keep a look-out, as the Sailors call it, at the Head of the Ship. I am informed that we have no Term, in our naval Institution, that properly explains it; that of *Pilot*, the Gentlemen of the Navy tell me, comes the nearest to it.

* *Billets to give your Votes in their Behalf.* BOOK V.

However, in reality, you neither assisted them in escaping the Punishment due to their Irregularity, or me in inflicting it. Thus, by suffering their Insolence, you have given a Sanction to their Remissness: For I am of Opinion, if you observe, you will find that those who were then most remarkable for their Neglect of Duty, are now so for their Insolence. An Instance of this you see in Boiscus the Thessalian Boxer: He then contended, under pretence of Sickness, not to carry his Shield, and now, I am informed, he has stripped several of the Inhabitants of Cotyora. If you are wise, therefore, your Treatment of this Man will be the Reverse of that bestowed on Dogs; for these, when they are cursed, are tied up in the Day-time, and let loose in the Night: Where-

² *Ψῆφος.* *Ψῆφος* signifies literally a Pebble; and, as the Greeks gave their Votes with these, their Votes came to be called *Ψῆφος*; this literally translated would not be intelligible to an English Reader, so that, it seems necessary to render it in such a manner, as may relate to our Customs; and, as every Person, who votes by Ballot, puts a Billet into the Ballot-box signifying his Sense of the Question; I thought *Ψῆφος* could not, upon this Occasion, be properly translated by any other Word than *Billets*. *D'Ablancourt* seems to have been sensible of the Difficulty of translating *Ψῆφος* with Propriety, by his leaving it out.

BOOK *Whereas, if you do well, you will tie him*
 V. *up in the Night, and let him loose in the*
Day. I own, I am surprised to find, that,
if I have given Offence to any of you, you
call it to Mind, and publish it: But, if I
have defended any from the Cold, or from
the Enemy, or relieved them, when they
were Sick, or in Want, these Things are
remembered by none of you: If I have com-
mended any for a proper Behaviour, or
honoured brave Men to the utmost of my
Power, these Things also are not remember-
ed: Yet it is certain, there is more Honesty,
Justice, Piety, and Pleasure in remembering
good, than ill Offices.

UPON this the Assembly rose, and
 called to Mind what was passed, so
 Xenophon was ^a acquitted, and all was
 well.

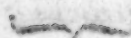
^a Περαισιντο. Both the Latin Translators have said
hic Exitus erat: I have rather chosen to render it in the
 Thucydi- same Sense, in which *Thucydides* uses the Word in the
 des, 1 B. Speech of the *Corinthians* to the *Lacedæmonians*, where
 they tell them that, in the War between them and
 the *Athenians*, they often owed the *Advantages* they gained
 to the Oversight of the Enemy, rather than to the
 Assistance they received from the *Lacedæmonians*: οὐ πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς

αὐτὸς τὰς Ἀθηναίους πολλὰ ἡμᾶς ἤδη τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν
 αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ ἀφ' ὧν τιμωρία περιγεγενημένος.
 So that, I imaginé, *Xenophon* means that, at his Trial,
 he *had the Advantage* over his Enemies, that is, he was
 acquitted.

BOOK
V.

The End of the Fifth Book.





THE
EXPEDITION
OF
C Y R U S.

BOOK VI.

FROM this Time, some of the
Greeks, while they staid here, sub-
sisted themselves by the Provisions
they bought in the Market, and others,
by those they got in plundering the
Country of *Paphlagonia*. On the other
Side, the *Paphlagonians* lost no Oppor-
tunity of robbing the Stragglers, and, in
the Night-time, endeavoured to annoy

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M

those

BOOK those who were encamped in Places
 VI. more advanced than the rest. These
 } Proceedings increased the ill Blood that
 was between them. Upon this, *Corylas*,
 who was at that Time Governor of
Paphlagonia, sent Ambassadors to the
Greeks in costly Robes, and well mount-
 ed, with Instructions to acquaint them
 that *Corylas* desired neither to do an In-
 jury to the *Greeks*, or receive any from
 them. To this the Generals answered,
 that they would consider of it with the
 Army. In the mean Time, they enter-
 tained them with all Hospitality, and
 invited such of the Army as they judged
 most proper, then, having killed some
 of the Oxen, they had taken, and other
 Cattle, they gave them a handsome En-
 tertainment, the Company lying ^a on
 Beds made of Brushwood covered with
 Grass and Leaves, and drinking out
 of horn Cups which they found in the
 Country.

As soon as the Libations were over,
 and they had sung the Pæan, two *Thra-*
cians

^a Στεῖλον. This is the Explication given by *Hesychius*
 and *Phavorinus* of στεῖλον.

cians first rose up, and danced with their Arms to the Sound of a Flute: They capered very high, and with great Agility; then made Use of their Swords. At last, one of them struck the other, in such a Manner that every one thought he had killed him, (but the Stroke was given with Art) upon which the *Paphlagonians* cried out; and the other, having despoiled him of his Arms, went out ^b singing a Song of Triumph in Honour of *Sitalces*: then other *Thracians* carried off the Man as if he had been dead, though indeed he was not hurt. After this, some ^c *Ænians* and *Magnesiums* rose up,

^b Ἀδων Σιτάλκων. *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* *Herodot.* *Siculus* speak much in Commendation of *Sitalces* King of *Melpo Thracia*, in whose Honour, no doubt, this Song of Victory was composed by the *Thracians*; *Thucydides* tells us that he was slain in a Battle against the *Triballians*, and that his Nephew *Scutbes* succeeded him. As this happened the first Year of the 89th Olympiad, that is, the eighth of the *Peloponnesian* War, and only twenty Years before the Time of this Expedition, it is possible this *Scutbes* may be the Prince in whose Service the *Greeks* engaged, as we shall find in the seventh Book; though I am sensible that *Thucydides* makes him the Son of *Sparadocus*, and *Xenophon* of *Mæfades*. *Thucydes*, 2 B. *Diod. Sic.* 12 B. *des*, 4 B.

^c Αἰνιᾶνες καὶ Μάγνητες. Possibly the first might belong to *Ænea*, a Town, said by *Dionysius* of *Halicar-nassus*, to have been built by *Æneas*, after the taking of *Troy*. *Hal.* 1 B.

BOOK up, and ^d danced in their Arms what
 VI. they call the *Carpæan* Dance; the Man-
 ner

Lucian
 περὶ ὀρχήσεως.

^d Οἱ ὀρχῶντο τὴν καρπαίαν καλῶμένην ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. The Pantomime Representation of the Ancients is so often confounded, in Translations of their Works into modern Languages, with what is now called *Dancing*, that I think myself obliged to explain my Sense of this Passage, in order to prevent my Translation of it from being thought to fall under the general Mistake. It is certain that the *Greeks* and *Romans* had, besides their Tragedies and Comedies, a mute Pantomime Representation, which was called by the former ὀρχησις, and by the latter, *Saltatio*. This is that Representation, in Praise of which *Lucian* has written a particular Treatise: What he designed for Praise, we may make use of for Information. After having run through a Detail of the vast Knowledge an ὀρχηστής or Pantomime ought to be Master of, he says that, as his Profession consists in Imitation, and, as he undertakes to represent, by his Gestures, what the Chorus sings or recites, his chief Business is Perspicuity, to the End that none of his Actions may stand in need of an Explanation, but that the Spectators may, like the *Pythian* Oracle, understand the Pantomime though mute, and hear him though he does not speak. By the way, the *Greek* Verse attributed to the *Pythian* Oracle, to which *Lucian* alludes, is preserved by *Plutarch*,

Καὶ κωφῷ συνίημι καὶ ἑ λαλῶντος ἀκούω.

Upon this Occasion *Lucian* tells a Story of a famous Pantomime in *Nero's* Time, who, to shew the Excellence of his Art to *Demetrius* the *Cynick*, commanded the Music, and even the Chorus to be silent, while he represented by himself (ἰφ' ἑαυτῷ ὀρχήσατο) the Amour of *Venus* and *Mars*, the *Sun* giving Information, and *Vulcan* catching them both in a Net, the Gods standing by, *Venus* blushing, and *Mars* trembling and asking Forgiveness; *Lucian* adds, that *Demetrius* was so well pleased with the Performance, that he cried out, *I not only see, but hear what you represent, for you seem even to speak with your Hands*. The Reader will pardon this short Dissertation upon an Art,

ner of which was as follows. One of BOOK
VI.
 them, having laid down his Arms, sows,
 and drives a Yoke of Oxen, looking
 often behind him, as if he were afraid :
 Then a Robber approaches, whom the
 other perceiving, he catches up his
 Arms, and, advancing, fights with him
 'in Defence of his Oxen, (and all this
 these Men performed in Time to the
 Flute.) At last, the Robber binds the
 Plow-

Art, which is so far lost that it is thought by many never
 to have existed. *Lucian* applies the Word *ὀρχόμενος* with
 great Humour to the unfortunate Companion of his
 Captivity and his Labour, as he calls him, τὸν ἄθλιον
 ποιωνὸν καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας, καὶ τῆς ἀχθοφορίας, I mean the
 poor Ais, that was thrown down the Precipice, upon
 which he says ὁ δὲ, ἀπῆει κάτω, τὸν θάνατον ὀρχόμενος, *Lucian*
 which I do not translate, because I cannot. The Dance *ὄρχησις*,
 here mentioned by *Xenophon* is, by *Hesychius*, called a
Macedonian Dance; it is so particularly described by *Xeno-*
phon, that I think I may venture to call it, after him, the
Carpean Dance, without translating the Word.

* *Μάχεται* πρὸ τῷ ζεύγους. Both the *Latin* Translators
 have said *ante jugum dimicat*, which *d'Ablancourt* has fol-
 lowed; but, as πρὸ is very frequently used in the Sense
 I have given it, upon this Occasion, that is, for ὑπὲρ, I
 thought it more natural to say that the Husbandman
 fought with the Robber in Defence of his Oxen, than
 before them, particularly as the Oxen seem to be the Prize
 contended for; since, when the Robber gets the better,
 he drives away the Oxen; but, if there can be any
 doubt whether πρὸ is used in this Sense, the following
 Passage in *Euripides* will clear it up; it is in *Alceſtis*, *Euripides*
 where *Admetus* says to *Pheres*,
in Alcest.
3d Act.

Οὐκ ἠθέλησας, ὦδ' ἐτόλμησας θανεῖν
 Τῷ σὺ πρὸ παιδός. —————

BOOK VI. man, and carries him off with the Oxen. Sometimes, the Plowman overcomes the Robber, and, fastening him to the Oxen, ties his Hands behind him, and so drives him away.

AFTER this, *Mysus* entered with a Buckler in each Hand, and danced sometimes, as if he had been engaged with two Adversaries; then used his Bucklers, as if engaged with only one; sometimes he whirled round; then threw himself head foremost and fell upon his Feet, without parting with the Bucklers: This made a fine sight. Last of all he danced the *Persian* Dance, striking his Bucklers against each other, and, in dancing, fell upon his Knees, then sprung up again, and in all this he kept Time to the Flute. He was succeeded by some *Mantineans* and other *Arcadians*, who, being dressed

^f Τὸς δὲ ἐδινεῖτο καὶ ἱεραὶ. Homer tells us that *Vulcan* represented two Dancers performing a Dance of this Kind upon *Achilles's* Shield,

Homer II.
Σ.

δοῖω δὲ κυβιστῆρι κατ' αὐτὰς
Μολπῆς ἐξάρχοντες ἐδίνεον κατὰ μέσσης.

Tourne-
fort 14
Letter.

And *Tournefort* says that the *Turkish* Dervises preserve this Kind of Dancing, which they make a religious Ceremony; and that, upon a Signal from their Superior, they turn round with an amazing Velocity.

dressed in the handsomest Armour they could provide, rose up, and advanced in Time to a Flute that played a Point of War. They sung the Pæan, and danced in the same Manner that is practised in solemn Processions. The *Paphlagonians* were amazed to see all these Dances performed by Men in Arms. Upon this, *Myfus*, perceiving their Astonishment, prevailed upon one of the *Arcadians*, who had a Woman Dancer, to let him bring her in; which he did accordingly, after he had dressed her in the handsomest Manner he was able, and given her a light Buckler. She danced the ^s *Pyrrhick* Dance with great Agility: upon which there was great clapping; and the *Paphlagonians* asked whether the Women also charged with their Troops. The others answered, that it was they, who drove the King out of their Camp. This was the End of that Night's Entertainment.

BOOK VI.

THE

^s Πυρρική. This Dance is called by *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* and *Hesychius* ἰσόπλιος ὀρχήσις, the first leaving it in doubt whether *Minerva* or the *Curetes* were the Authors of it; and the second whether one *Pyrrichus* a *Cretan*, or *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*, was the Inventor of it.

Hesych.
Pyρρική
Dionys.
H. 7 B.

BOOK
VI.

THE next Day the Generals brought the Ambassadors to the Army: When the Soldiers came to a Resolution neither to do any Injury to the *Paphlagonians*, or suffer any from them. After that, the Ambassadors departed: And the *Greeks*, finding they had as many Ships as they wanted, embarked and sailed with a fair Wind all that Day and the next Night, keeping *Paphlagonia* on their left Hand: and the Day after they arrived at *Sinope*, and anchored in ^h *Harmene*, one of

Strabo,
12 B.

Arrian
Periplus
of the
Euxine
Sea.

Herodot.
in Melpo-
mene.

Strabo,
12 B.

^h *Agurion*. Both *Strabo* and *Arrian* make mention of *Armene* or *Harmene* as a Sea-port belonging to *Sinope*, from which the former says it was distant fifty Stadia, and the latter forty. *Herodotus* says that the *Cimmerians* flying from the *Scythians* into *Asia*, built a Town upon the Peninsula where *Sinope*, a Greek City, now stands. But we find by *Strabo* that the Inhabitants of *Sinope* looked upon *Autolycus*, one of the *Argonauts*, to be their Founder, whose Statue, made by *Sthenis*, *Lucullus* carried away, when he took the Town: The same Author tells us, that the *Milesians*, observing the advantageous Situation of the Place, and the Weakness of the Inhabitants, sent a Colony thither. And, by the Account that Author gives of *Sinope*, no City could be more advantageously situated; for he says it stood upon the Isthmus that joined the Peninsula to the main Land, having on each Side a Sea-port, where great Quantities of the Tunny Fish were taken as they swam along the *Asiatick* Coast, from the *Palus Maotis*, where they are bred, to the *Bosphorus*. He adds, that the Peninsula was surrounded with sharp Rocks, which made the Access to it very difficult, that the Land above the Town was very fertile, and disposed into

of its Ports. *Sinope* is situated in *Paph-* BOOK VI.
lagonia; it is a Colony of the *Milefians*.

The Inhabitants sent the *Greeks*, as a
 Mark of Hospitality, three thousand
ⁱ Medimni of Flour, and fifteen hun-
 dred ^k Ceramia of Wine. Hither *Cheiri-*
sophus

into Gardens; and that the City was well built, and
 adorned with a place of Exercise, a Market, and magni-
 ficent Porticos. This Account both of the Situation of
Sinope, and of the Country round it, is confirmed by
Tournefort, who was there himself; and, in the Relation *Tourne-*
 he gives of it, is grievously out of Humour with the fort 17
 modern Geographers for taking no Notice either of the *Letter*.
Peninsula, or of the Sea-ports lying on each Side of it.
Sinope is famous for having given Birth to two consider-
 able Men of very different Characters, *Diogenes* the *Cynick*
Philosopher, and the great *Mithridates*. *Strabo* says it
 was in his Time, (that is, in the Reign of *Augustus*) a
Roman Colony. I cannot part with this Subject without
 taking Notice that *Sinope* furnished the ancient Painters
 with a red Earth, which was one of the four Colours,
 with which alone, *Pliny* tells us, *Apelles*, *Echion*, *Melan-* Pl. N. H.
thius, *Nicomachus* painted those immortal Works; quatuor 35 B. c. 32.
coloribus solis Immortalia illa Opera fecere: ex Albis Melino,
ex Siliciis Attico, ex Rubris Sinopide Pontica, ex nigris Atra-
mento, Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, Nicomachus.

ⁱ *Medimnos*. Μέδιμος. — μέτρον ἐστὶ ξηρῶν, οἷον πυρῶν
 ἢ κριθῶν ἔχει δὲ χόινικας ὅστω καὶ τρισσαράκοντα. Harpo-
 cration. So that the Medimnus was a dry Measure con- Arbuth-
 taining 48 Chænixes, each of which, *Arbuthnot* makes not of
 equal to an *English* Pint: but then he says a Medimnus *Weights*
 contains four Pecks and six Pints, which is a Mistake; and *Mea-*
 for if, as he says, 16 Pints make a Peck, it is plain that *sure*.
 48 Pints will make but three Pecks: So that, in reality,
 a Medimnus is equal to three *English* Pecks.

^k *Κεράμια*. Κεράμιον, τὸ τῷ οἶνι ἢ ὕδατι σαμίου,
Hesychius; and in another Place Κάδο, κεράμιον. Now
 the Cadus, *Arbuthnot* makes equal to the Metretes, which Id. ib;
 Vol. II. N he

BOOK *sophus* came with some Gallies. The Sol-
 VI. diers expected he would bring them
 something: However he brought no-
 thing, but gave them an Account that
 both *Anaxibius* the Admiral, and the rest
 of the *Lacedæmonians* celebrated their
 Praise, and that the former promised
 them, if they would come out of the
Euxine Sea, they should have Pay.

THE Soldiers staid five Days at *Har-
 mene*: And looking upon themselves to
 be in the Neighbourhood of *Greece*, they
 were more desirous, than before, to carry
 some Booty home with them. ¹ They
 thought, if they made Choice of one
 General, that single Person would find a
 readier Obedience from the Army both
 by Night and Day, than if the Com-
 mand

he says, contains ten Gallons two Pints; so that *Κεράμιον*,
 upon these Authorities, will be a liquid Measure contain-
 ing ten Gallons two Pints.

¹ Ηγήσαντο ἓν, εἰ ἕνα εἴλοιντο ἀρχόντα μᾶλλον ἢ πολυ-
 αρχίας ἕσης, δύνασθαι τὸν ἕνα χεῖσθαι τῷ στρατεύματι ἢ
 νυκτὸς ἢ ἡμέρας· καὶ εἴ τι δέοι λαιθάνειν, μᾶλλον ἂν καὶ κρυ-
 πτεσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι αὖ δέοι φθάνειν, ἥτις ἂν ὑπερίξιν· εἰ γὰρ
 ἂν λόγων δεινὸς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ τὸ δόξαν τῷ ἐνὶ στρατευσ-
 θαι ἂν. I have transcribed this whole Passage, that the
 Reader may see how dreadfully d'*Ablancourt* has mangled
 it; these are his Words: *Les Soldats donc, pour mieux
 couvrir leur Entreprise, & l'exécuter plus promptement, resolu-
 rent d'élire un General.*

mand were vested in many; where it was necessary for him to conceal his Designs, he would conceal them better, and where to prevent the Enemy, he would use greater Expedition, for there would then be no Need of Conferences, but whatever that single Person resolved upon, would be put in Execution: For hitherto in all Operations the Generals were governed by the Majority. While they had these Things under Consideration, they cast their Eyes on *Xenophon*; and the Captains came to him and acquainted him with the Resolution of the Army: And each of them, expressing his Affection to him, endeavoured to prevail upon him to undertake the Command. *Xenophon* was not averse to it, when he considered that he should, by this Means, increase both his Credit with his Friends, and his Reputation in his Country, and that possibly also, he might be the Cause of some Advantage to the Army.

THESE Considerations led him to desire to be Commander in Chief. On the other Side, when he reflected that

BOOK VI. future Events being concealed from all Mankind, he might, for that Reason, run a Hazard of losing the Glory he had already gained, he was in Suspence. While he was in this Doubt, he thought the best Thing he could do was to consult the Gods: In the Presence therefore of two Priests, he offered Sacrifice to ^m *Jupiter* the King, to whom he was directed by the Oracle of *Delphos* to address himself; and whom he looked upon to be the Author of the Dream he had, when, together with the other Generals, he was first appointed to take Charge of the Army. He called to Mind also that, when he left *Ephesus* in Order to be presented to *Cyrus*, ⁿ an Eagle cried on

Harpo-
cration,
Βασίλειος
στολ.

^m Διὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. Harpocratio mentions two Porticos dedicated at *Athens* to *Jupiter* under two different Appellations; the first to *Jupiter* ἐλευθέριος, because the People of *Athens*, as *Dydimus* says, were freed from the *Persians* by his Assistance; the other to *Jupiter* Βασίλειος: This Passage explains what our Author mentions in the third Book, where he says the Oracle of *Delphos* directed him to sacrifice to the proper Gods, by which, we find here, he means *Jupiter* the King.

ⁿ Ἀετὸν ἀνιμινύσκειτο ἑαυτῷ δεξιόν. It was an old Superstition among the *Greeks* to look upon all Appearances, and particularly that of an Eagle on the right Hand, as an Omen of Success. When *Telemachus* takes his leave of *Menelaus*, *Homer* makes an Eagle appear on his right, with a Goose in his Talons,

on his Right, sitting however on the Ground, which the Priest, who accompanied

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Ὡς ἄρα οἱ ἰσπόντι ἐπέπτατο δεξιὸς ὄρνις
Αἰστὸς, ἀργὴν χῆνα φέρων ὀνύχισσι πέλωρον,
Ἡμερον ἐξ αὐλῆς·

Homer
Odyf. O.

This Omen *Helen*, who was present, takes upon herself to interpret, and says it signifies that *Ulysses* shall return and punish the Suitors, who, it seems, were represented by the white Goose: By the way, *Homer* makes *Helen* rather than *Menelaus* interpret this Omen, possibly to avoid making the good Man indirectly reproach his Wife by this Interpretation; for *Menelaus* seems to have forgotten or forgiven all that was past, and they then lived very well together. It may be asked why the *Greeks* looked upon the Omens that appeared on their *right* to be prosperous, and the *Romans* on those that appeared on their *left* to be so? This Question, though, at first Sight, it may appear frivolous, is of so great Consequence to the understanding many Passages both in the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors, that I really think it very well deserves to be discussed. The first Thing to be considered is, that the *Greeks* and *Romans* did not turn their Faces towards the same Quarter of the Heavens when they took their Stand in their augural Ceremonies, the former turning theirs to the North, and the latter theirs to the East. But this deserves something more than a bare Assertion. *Homer*, who is always a religious Observer of the Ceremonies of his Country, makes *Heclor* reprimand *Polydamas* for advising him to attend to the Flight of Birds, and says, he cares not whether they fly to the right, that is, to the East, or to the left, that is, to the West,

— Τῶν ἔτι μετατρέπομ', εἰδ' ἀλιγίζω.
Εἰτ' ἐπὶ δεξι' ἴωσι πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἡελιόν τε,
Εἰτ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τοίγῃ, ποτὶ ζόφον ἡερόντα.

It may not, possibly, be so easily allowed that the *Romans*, upon these Occasions, turned their Faces towards the East; I say this, because I remember to have seen the contrary asserted by a very learned Man, I mean *Dacier*, Notes upon his Notes upon *Horace*; he there says, *ceux qui prenoient les Auspices, tournoient toujours le visage vers le midi*; and a few lines little after he adds, *cela a toujours été observé de même par* Ode, 3 B.
les

BOOK VI. { panied him, said was an Omen, that portended something great, and above a pri-

les Romains, sans qu'il y ait jamais eu aucun Changement ; Et c'est une vérité si constante, que l'on ne sçauroit expliquer ni concilier autrement tous les passages des Anciens, où il est parlé de ces matieres. Errors in Authors of little Merit are of little Consequence, but, when ushered into the World under the Sanction of a Name deservedly famous for critical Learning, they are either taken for Truths, or, at best, pass uncontradicted. That this is an Error will appear, to a Demonstration, from the two following Passages of those two Oracles of the Roman History, *Livy*, and *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*: The first, speaking of the Inauguration of *Numa Pompilius*, says *Augur ad lævam ejus, capite velato sedem capit, dextrâ manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellaverunt. Inde, ubi, prospectu in urbem agrumque capto, Deos precatus, regionem ob oriente ad occasum determinavit; dextras ad meridiem partes, lævas ad septentrionem esse dixit.* In this Division then we find the South was on his right Hand, and the North on his left, consequently his Face was turned to the East.

Livy, 1 B.
c. 18.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus not only confirms this, but gives several Reasons why the Augurs, upon these Occasions, turned their Faces to the East. The first is this, ὅτι καθέδρα μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ στάσις ἀρίστη τῶν οἰωνοῖς μαντευσόμενων ἢ βλέψασα πρὸς ἀνατολὰς, ὅθεν ἡλίου τε ἀναφοραὶ γίνονται καὶ σελήνης, καὶ ἀστέρων πλανητῶν τε καὶ ἀπλανῶν ἥτε τῷ κόσμῳ περιφορὰ, δι' ἣν τότε μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἅπαντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ γίνονται, τότε δ' ὑπὸ γῆς, ἐκείθεν ἀρξαμένη τὴν ἐγκύκλιον ἀποδίδωσι κίνησιν. This Reason, according to the System of Astronomy then in Vogue, was a very plausible one, that is, because the heavenly Bodies began their Motion from the East. To this I shall add the Reason given by the same Author, why the Romans looked upon the Lightning that appeared on the left Hand, as a happy Omen; I mention this not only to confirm what has been said, but also to shew that a Passage in *Virgil*, which, like many others, is looked upon as poetical, is, like them, merely historical. *Dionysius* says that *Ascanius*, the Son of *Aeneas*, being besieged by the *Tuscan*s, under *Mezentius*, and upon the Point of making a Sally, prayed to *Jupiter*, and to the rest of the Gods, to send him a happy Omen; upon

Virgil,
9 B.

private Station, something illustrious, though toilsome; for other Birds attack the Eagle chiefly when she is sitting upon the Ground. He added that the Omen foretold nothing lucrative, because, when the Eagle preys, she is generally upon the Wing. While therefore he was offering Sacrifice upon this Occasion, the God plainly signified to him, that

BOOK
VI.

upon which, they say, the Sky being clear, it lightened on his left. Now let us see what Use *Virgil* has made of this Tradition; *Ascanius* is besieged by the *Rutulans* and *Tuscans* commanded by *Turnus* and *Mezentius*; he is insulted by *Remulus*, but, before he takes Revenge of him, he prays to *Jupiter* to favour his *Coup d'essai*: Upon this a Clap of Thunder was heard on the left, where the Sky was clear,

*Audiit, & Cæli genitor de parte serenâ
Intonuit lævum.*

This is told almost in the same Words by the Greek Historian, *φασὶν ἀνθρώπου ἑσθῆς ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἀσπάζει τὸν ἑρατὸν.*

However, I desire I may not be understood as if I meant by this that *Virgil* took this Passage from *Dionysius*; I am very sensible that the Greek Historian speaks of the seven hundredth and forty-fifth Year, as of the Year then present, in the Preface to his History, *Claudius Nero* for the second Time, and *Calpurnius Piso* being Consuls; and that *Donatus* tells us, in his Life of *Virgil*, that, designing to return to *Rome* with *Augustus*, whom he met at *Athens*, as the latter was coming out of the East, he died at *Brundisium*, *Cn. Plautius* and *Qu. Lucretius* being Consuls. Now *Dion. Cassius* says, that *Augustus* went into the East in the Spring of the Year, in which *M. Apuleius* and *P. Silius* were Consuls, which, in the *Fasti Consulares*, is the 733^d of *Rome*, and that he returned to *Rome* the next Year: All that I mean by what I have said is, that both the Poet and the Historian took the Passage from the History of *Rome*.

54 B.

BOOK VI. that he ought neither to seek the Command, nor, if they chose him, to accept it: and this was the Issue of that Affair. However the Army assembled, and they all agreed to chuse a single Person to command them: This therefore being determined, they proposed him: When it was manifest they would chuse him, if any one put the Question, he rose up, and spoke as follows.

GENTLEMEN! as I am a Man, I take a Pleasure in the Honour you design me, and return you Thanks for it; I also beseech the Gods to give me an Opportunity of being the Occasion of some Advantage to you: But I cannot think it will be any either to you or my self to give me the Preference, when a Lacedæmonian is present: On the contrary, if you should want their Assistance in any Thing, you will, by this Means, be the less intitled to it. Neither do I look upon this as a Thing altogether safe for me to engage in: For I am sensible they never ceased making War upon my Country, 'till they made the whole City acknowledge, that the Lacedæmonians were the Masters of Athens, as well as of the rest of Greece: However, upon

on this Acknowledgement, they desisted, and immediately raised the Siege of that City. BOOK VI.

If therefore I, who am sensible of this, should seem, where I have it in my Power, to invalidate their Authority, I have Reason to fear that I should very soon be taught my Duty. As to your Opinion, that the Command of a single Person will leave less Room for Contest, than that of many, be assured that, if you chuse another, you shall find I will not oppose him; for I look upon it, that, in War, whoever opposes his Commander, opposes his own Safety: °Whereas, if you chuse me, I shall not be surpris'd, if you find others, who will be offended both at you and me.

AFTER he had said this, much greater Numbers than before rose up, and said, he ought to take upon him the Command. And Agasias the Stymphalian alledged it would be ridiculous to suppose what was mentioned to be true; because, at that rate, the Lacedæmonians might as well be angry, if, when they met to sup
to-

° Αν δ' ἐμὲ ἐλθῇ, ἢ κ' ἂν θαυμάσαιμι εἴ τινα εὐροίτε καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀχθόμενον. D' Ablanceourt has left out all this Sentence.

BOOK together, they did not chuse a *Lacedæmo-*
 VI. *nian* for their President: For, says he,
 if that is the Case, neither ought we, it
 seems, to be Captains, because we are
Arcadians. Upon this the Assembly shew-
 ed by their Murmur that they approved
 of what he said.

XENOPHON seeing it was necessary
 to enforce what he had alledged, advanc-
 ed, and went on. *But, Gentlemen! that*
you may know, all the Circumstances of this
Affair, I swear by all the Gods and Goddesses,
that, after I was acquainted with your Reso-
lution, I sought, by Sacrifice, to know whether
it were for your Advantage to confer this
Command upon me, and for mine to accept
it: And the Gods signified to me, by the
Victims, in so clear a Manner that the
most ignorant Man could not mistake it, that
I ought to decline the Command. Upon this
 they chose *Cheirisophus*, who, after he was
 chosen, came forward, and said, *Be assur-*
ed, Gentlemen! I should have given you no
Opposition, if your Choice had fallen upon
another. But says he, *you have done a Ser-*
vice to Xenophon by not chusing him, since
Dexippus has lately accused him to Anaxi-
 a. buis,

bius, in the strongest Manner he was able, BOOK VI.
 though I endeavoured all I could to silence him. Cheirifophus added that he thought Anaxibius would rather desire Timasion of Dardanus, who had served under Clearchus, for his Colleague, than himself, though he was a Lacedæmonian. But, says he, since you have made Choice of me I shall endeavour, on my Part, to do you all the Service in my Power. In the mean Time, be ready to sail to-morrow, if the Weather is favourable. Heraclea is the Port we must all endeavour to arrive at. When we are there, we will consider of what we have farther to do.

THE next Day they weighed Anchor with a fair Wind, and sailed two Days along the Coast: And, in their Passage, saw the * *Jafonian* Shore, where the Ship *Argo* is said to have come to Land; and the Mouths of several Rivers; first that of the ^P *Thermodon*; then of the *Halys*,

* *Ἰασηνίαν ἀκτὴν*. As the last note but one is very long, and the Dissertation upon the *Argonautic* Expedition has necessarily occasioned this to be so, in Order to avoid breaking in upon the Text, I have been obliged to place it at the End of this Book.

^P *Τὸ Θερμῶδον*. This River, after it has received many others, runs through a Plain called *Themiscyra*, formerly

BOOK VI. ^a *Halys*, and, afterwards, that of the ^r *Parthenius*: And, having sailed by the last, they arrived at ^r *Heraclea*, a *Greek City*, and a Colony of the *Megarians*, situated in the Coun-

Strabo, 11 B. merly inhabited by the *Amazons*, and then falls into the *Euxine Sea*.

Ib. ^a Τῆ ΑΛΥΙΟΥ. This River, *Strabo* says, took its Name from the Beds of Salt through which it runs, ἀπὸ τῶν ἁλῶν αἷς καταρρεῖ, he adds that its Source is in the *Greater Cappadocia*; and, upon this Occasion, *Arrian* blames *Herodotus* for saying it flows from the South, whereas it comes, as he says, from the East: This River formerly parted the *Persian* and *Lydian* Empires. *Tournefort* says this Country is so full of Fossil-Salt, that it is to be found in the High Roads, and plowed Lands.

Strabo, 12 B. ^r Τῆ Παρθενίης. The *Parthenius* rises, according to *Strabo*, in *Paphlagonia*, and derives its Name from the chearful Meadows, through which it runs.

Strabo, 12 B. ^r Εἰς Ἡράκλειαν. *Heraclea* was anciently a City of great Consideration, and in Alliance with *Rome*, 'till *Mithridates* made himself Master of it by corrupting *Lamachus*, one of their Magistrates, which furnished *Cotta*, who served under *Lucullus*, with a Pretence both of plundering it, and reducing it to Ashes, for which he was deservedly censured at his Return to *Rome*. I find *Strabo* makes *Heraclea* to have been a Colony of the *Milesians*, but *Xenophon* seems to deserve most Credit, since he is supported by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pausanias*, and many other Authors of the best Note. *Heraclea* was afterwards called *Pausanias*, by the modern *Greeks*, to whom it belonged, *Penderachi*, 1. *Heliac*. and by the *Turks*, in whose Possession it now is, *Eregri*. *Tournefort*, 16 Letter. There are many Medals to be seen at this Day, formerly struck by this City in Honour of the *Roman Emperors*, with a *Hercules* on the Reverse, by which it appears that he was the Patron of it; and, when *Cotta* took it, there was a Statue of *Hercules* in the Market-Place, with all his

Diod. Sic. 1 B. Attributes of Gold. But it must be observed that this was the *Grecian*, not the *Egyptian Hercules*, from whom *Diodorus Siculus* observes the *Greeks* borrowed most of the great Actions, which they ascribed to their *Hercules*.

Country of the *Maryandeni*ans. They came to an Anchor near to the Peninsula of *Acherusias*, where *Hercules* is said to have descended to bring up *Cerberus*, and where they shew, at this Day, a Chasm, two Stadia in Depth, as a Monument of his Descent. The Inhabitants of *Heraclea* sent the *Greeks* three thousand Medimni of Barley-Meal, and two thousand Cermia of Wine, as hospitable Presents, with twenty Oxen, and one hundred Sheep. Here the River *Lycus*, about two hundred Feet broad, runs through the Plain.

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VL

THE Soldiers being assembled, deliberated whether they should proceed the rest of the Way 'till they were out of the *Euxine*, by Land or by Sea; when *Lycon* of *Achaia* rising up, said, I 'wonder, Gentlemen! at our Generals, for not endeavouring to find Money for us to buy Provisions: For the Presents we have received will not subsist the Army three Days; neither is there any Place, says he, from whence we can supply ourselves. My Advice therefore is, that we demand of the Inhabitants of *Heraclea*

¹ Θαυμάζω μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες, τῶν στρατηγῶν. Θαυμάζω, ὅτι πρὸς γυνικὴν συντάσσομεν, τὸ καταγνώσκω σημαίνει· πρὸς δι' αἰτιατικὴν, τὸ ἰπαινω. Suidas.

BOOK VI. *raclea no less than three thousand* "Cyzi-
 cenes. Another said a Month's Pay, no
 less than ten thousand: And that we
 ought to chuse Ambassadors, and send
 them immediately to the Town while we
 were assembled, to the End we might
 know what answer they thought proper
 to return, and thereupon consider what
 Measures to take. Upon this they pro-
 posed sending, as Ambassadors, first *Chei-
 risophus*, because they had chosen him for
 their General; and some named *Xeno-
 phon*. But both these declined it abso-
 lutely; for they concurred in Opinion,
 that they ought not to constrain a *Greek*
City, in Friendship with them, to supply
 them with any Thing against their Will.
 When they found these were unwilling
 to go, they sent *Lycon* of *Achaia*, *Callima-
 chus* of *Parrhasie*, and *Agasias* of *Stym-
 phalus*. These, going to the Town, in-
 formed the Inhabitants of the Resolu-
 tions of the Army: It was said *Lycon*
 even added Threats, if they did not com-
 ply with all their Demands. The Inha-
 bitants, hearing this, said they would
 consider of it, and immediately removed
 all

" *Κυζικηνός*. See note ¹, page 53, upon the fifth Book.

all their ^{*}Effects out of the Country, and carried all their Provisions into the Town: At the same Time the Gates were shut, and Men in Arms appeared upon the Walls.

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HEREUPON the Authors of these Disturbances, accused the Generals of having defeated the Design: And the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* assembled together: (they were chiefly headed by *Callimachus* the *Parrhasian*, and *Lycon* the *Achaian*) They said it was a Shame that one *Athenian*, who had brought no Forces to the Army, should have the Command both of the *Peloponnesians* and *Lacedæmonians*: They said they had the Labour, and others the Profit; which was the less to be suffered, because the Preservation of the Army was owing to them; for they said the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* had preserved it, and that the rest of the Army was nothing: (and it was true the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* made above half the Army) If therefore they were wise, they ought to assemble, and, having chosen their own Generals, to march by themselves,

^{*} *Χεῖματα*. See note ^f, page 35, upon the first Book.

BOOK selves, and endeavour to get some Booty.

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This was resolved: And those *Arcadians* and *Achaians*, who served under *Cheirisophus*, leaving him, and *Xenophon*, joined the rest, and chose their own Generals, to the Number of ten. These they voted to execute whatever should be approved of by the Majority. Here therefore ended the Generalship of *Cheirisophus*, the sixth or seventh Day after he was chosen.

XENOPHON was inclined to march in their Company looking upon that as safer than for every one to travel by himself: But *Neon*, who had been informed by *Cheirisophus* that *Cleander*, the *Lacedæmonian* ^γ Governor of *Byzantium*, said he would come to the Port of *Calpe* with some Gallies, persuaded him to go by himself. He gave him this Advice to the End that none should partake of this Opportunity, but only they, with their own Soldiers, should go on Board the Gallies: And *Cheirisophus*, partly discouraged at what had happened, and partly through the Hatred he, from that Time,

^γ Αρμοστής. Αρμοσταί, οἱ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰς τὰς ὑποκόους πόλεις ἀρχόντες ἐκτεμπόμενοι. *Harpocration*.

Time, conceived against the Army, permitted *Xenophon* to do as he thought fit. BOOK VI.

The latter had some Thoughts also of leaving that Part of the Army that remained with him, and of sailing away: But while he was offering Sacrifice to *Hercules* the Conductor, and consulting that God, whether it were better for him to march on with the Rest of the Soldiers, or to leave them, the God signified, by the Victims, that he should go on with them. By this Means the Army was divided into three Bodies: The first consisted of *Arcadians* and *Achaians*, being above four thousand five hundred in Number, all heavy-armed Men: The second of fourteen hundred heavy-armed Men, and seven hundred Targeteers belonging to *Cheirisophus*, the last being *Thracians*, who had served under *Clearchus*: And the third of seventeen hundred heavy-armed Men, and three hundred Targeteers, who followed *Xenophon*; the Horse, which amounted to about forty, were solely commanded by him.

THE *Arcadians*, having furnished themselves with Ships from the Inhabitants of

BOOK VI. *Heraclea*, first set sail, that, by falling upon the *Bythinians* unawares, they might get the greater Booty. With this View they landed in the Port of *Calpe*, situated about the middle of ² *Thrace*. *Cheirisophus*, leaving *Heraclea*, travelled through the Country; but, when he arrived in *Thrace*, he kept near the Sea: Because he was in an ill State of Health; and *Xenophon*, having provided himself with Ships, landed upon the Confines of *Thrace* and of the Territory of *Heraclea*, and, from thence, marched through the Middle of the Country.

IN what Manner therefore the Generalship of *Cheirisophus* was abrogated, and the *Greek Army* divided, has been already related. The Actions of each of them were, as follows. The *Arcadians*, landing by Night at the Port of *Calpe*, marched to the next Villages, at the Distance of about fifty *Stadia* from the Sea: When it was light, each of their Generals led his own Division to a Village, and, where
any

Herodot. ² Τῆς Θράκης. These are the *Thracians*, who, as *Herodotus* says, having settled in *Asia*, were called *Bithynians*; in Poly- he adds, that they were driven out of *Thrace* by the *Taurians*, and *Myrians*.
hymnia.

any of the Villages seemed larger than the rest, they marched in a Body formed of two Divisions: At the same Time they fixed upon a Hill where they were all to re-assemble; and, as their Irruption was unexpected, they ^a took many Slaves besides great Numbers of Cattle.

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THE *Thracians*, who escaped, got together; for, being *Targeteers*, many of them made their Escape from the *Greeks*, who were heavy-armed Men. Being now assembled in a Body, they first attacked the Division commanded by *Smicres*, one of the *Arcadian* Generals, while he was upon his March to the Place of Rendezvous with a considerable Booty. For some Time the *Greeks* fought as they marched; but, while they were passing a Valley, the *Thracians* put them to Flight, and killed *Smicres* with all his Men. They also defeated another Division commanded by *Hegesander* one of the ten Generals, eight only escaping, and, with them,

^a Περιβάλοντο. Περιβαλλόμενοι. προσπορισάμενοι.
Suidas. *Pavorinus*. So that I cannot think the Word *collego* made Use of by both the *Latin* Translators so proper upon this Occasion.

BOOK them, *Hegesander* himself. The rest of
VI. the Generals came to the Place of Rendezvous, some with Difficulty, and others without any at all. The *Thracians*, after this Advantage, gave Notice to one another, and assembled, with great Resolution, in the Night: And as soon as it was Day, great Numbers of Horse and Targeteers were drawn up round the Hill, upon which the *Greeks* were encamped; and their Numbers continually encreasing they attacked the heavy-armed Men with great Security: For the *Greeks* had neither Archers, Darters, or Horse; while the others, advancing with their light-armed Men, and Horse, lanced their Darts, and, when the *Greeks* offered to attack them, retreated with Ease; and assailing them in different Places, gave several Wounds, without receiving any: So that the *Greeks* could not stir from the Place, and were at last debarred from Water by the *Thracians*. Being reduced to great Extremity, Terms of Accommodation were proposed, and other Things were agreed upon; but the *Thracians* refused to give Hostages, which the *Greeks* insisted on. This put a Stop to the
the

the Treaty; and this was the Situation of the *Arcadians*. BOOK VI.

IN the mean Time *Cheirisophus*, marching with Safety along the Coast, arrived at the Port of *Calpe*. While *Xenophon* was upon his March through the Middle of the Country, his Horse, who were upon the Scout, met with some Ambassadors, who were travelling the Road. When they were brought to *Xenophon*, he asked them, whether they had any where heard of another Greek Army. These Men informed him of every Thing that had passed; that the *Greeks* were actually besieged upon a Hill, and that the whole Army of the *Thracians* had surrounded them on all Sides. Upon this he ordered the Men to be strictly guarded, that he might use them as Guides, where it was necessary; and having placed his Scouts, he assembled the Soldiers, and, spoke to them as follows:

GENTLEMEN! Part of the *Arcadians* are slain, and the rest besieged upon a Hill. It is my Opinion, that, if these are destroyed, all Hopes of our own Safety are despe-

BOOK VI. *desperate, the Enemy being so numerous, and so much emboldened by their Success. The best Thing therefore we can do, is immediately to march to their Relief; that if they are still alive, we may have their Assistance in Battle, rather than, by being left alone, be alone exposed to the Danger of it. Let us therefore, for the present, march on 'till Supper-Time, and then encamp; and, while we are upon our March, let Timasion, with the Horse, advance before, keeping us still in Sight, and reconnoitre the Country, to prevent Surprise. At the same Time, he sent those of the light-armed Men, who were most prepared for Expedition, to the Sides and Tops of the Hills, with Orders, if they saw any Thing, to give Notice. He ordered them also to set Fire to every combustible Thing they met with. For, says he, we have no Place to fly to: It is a great Way back to Hera-clea; a great Way through the Country to Chrysopolis, and the Enemy is near at Hand. Indeed, it is not far to the Port of Calpe, where we conclude Cheirisophus is arrived, if he has met with no Accident: But, when we are there, we shall find neither Ships to transport us, nor Provisions to subsist*

us even for one Day. However, if those BOOK VI.
who are besieged should perish, it will be more
disadvantageous for us to hazard a Battle in
Conjunction with the Troops belonging to
Cheirisophus only, than, if they are pre-
served, to join all our Forces, and make our
Preservation a common Concern. But let us
go with this Resolution, either to die with
Honour, upon this Occasion, or perform the
greatest of all Actions in preserving so many
Greeks. Possibly God has ordained this with
a Design of humbling those who magnified
their Prudence, as superior to ours, and of
rendering us, who derive all our Hopes from
the Gods, more renowned than they. Follow
then your Leaders, and be attentive to the
Orders you receive, that you may obey them.

WHEN he had said this, he put him-
self at their Head. The Horse, spreading
themselves over the Country, as far as
was proper, set Fire to every Thing
where they passed, and the Targeteers,
marching abreast upon the Eminences,
set Fire also to every Thing they found
combustible, as did the Army also to
what the others happened to leave: So
that the whole Country seemed in a
Blaze,

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Blaze, and the Army appeared very numerous. When it was Time, they encamped on a Hill, and discovered the Enemy's Fires, from whom they were distant about forty Stadia: Upon this they made as many Fires as they could. But when they had supped, Orders were given that all the Fires should immediately be put out: And, having placed Guards, they went to sleep. The next Morning, by Break of Day, after they had invoked the Gods, they put themselves in Order of Battle, and marched with all the Haste they could. *Timasion* and the Horse, with the Guides, advancing before the Army, found themselves, before they were aware, upon the Hill, where the *Greeks* had been besieged. Here they saw neither Friends, nor Enemies, (of which they gave Notice to *Xenophon* and the Army) but only some old Men, and Women, with a few Sheep, and Oxen, that were left behind. At first, they wondered what the Matter was, but, afterwards, they understood by the People, who were left, that the *Thracians* went away, as soon as the Evening came on; and the *Greeks* the

next

next Morning: But whither, they said, they could not tell.

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XENOPHON, and his Men, hearing this, after they had eat their Breakfast, got their Baggage ready, and marched on, desiring as soon as possible, to join the rest of the *Greeks* at the Port of *Calpe*. In their March, they saw the Footing of the *Arcadians* and *Achaians* in the Road leading to *Calpe*; and, when they overtook them, they were pleased to see one another, and embraced like Brothers. The *Arcadians* asked *Xenophon's* Men why they had put out their Fires? for, said they, we thought at first, when we saw no more Fires, that you designed to attack the Enemy in the Night: (and they, as we imagined, were apprehensive of this, and, for that Reason, went away, for they retired about that Time) But you not coming, and the Time wherein we expected you, being expired, we concluded, that, being informed of our Situation, you were terrified, and had retired to the Sea-side. Whereupon we resolved not to be far behind you: And this was the Reason of our marching hither also.

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Q

THAT

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THAT Day they encamped upon the Shore near the Port. This Place, which is called the Port of *Calpe*, is situated in the *Asiatic Thrace*. This *Thrace* begins at the Mouth of the *Euxine Sea*, and extends, on the right Hand, as far as *Heraclea*. To which Place from *Byzantium*^b, it is as far as a Trireme Galley can row in the longest Day. Between these two Cities there is no Town belonging either to the *Greeks*, or their Allies: But all the Coast is inhabited by *Thracians* or *Bitbynians*: And whatever *Greeks* are thrown upon their Coast by Shipwreck, or, by any other Accident, fall into their Hands, they are said to abuse them in the most savage Manner. The Port of *Calpe* lies in the Mid-way between *Heraclea*, and *Byzantium*. A Promontory runs out into the Sea, of which that Part, which lies contiguous to it, is a craggy Rock, in Height, where it is lowest, not less than twenty Fathom. The Neck of Land, by which this Promontory is join-

ed

^b *Ἡμέρας μάλα μακρὰς ἀνάσσει.* *Xenophon* has great Reason to say that it is a long Day's Work for a Galley to go from *Byzantium* to *Heraclea*, since *Arrian*, in his *Periplus*, makes it 1670 Stadia, 870 of which he reckons from *Byzantium* to the Port of *Calpe*, which agrees very well with *Xenophon's* Account.

ed to the Continent, is about four hundred Feet in Breadth; and the Space, within this Neck, is ample enough to afford Habitation for ten thousand Men. The Port lies under the Rock upon the western Shore; and, close to the Sea, flows a Spring plentifully supplied with fresh Water: This Spring is commanded by the Rock. This Place affords great Plenty of Timber, particularly that, which is proper for building Ships, in great Quantities, and in great Perfection close to the Sea. The Mountain that lies next the Port, reaches about twenty Stadia into the Mid-land: The Soil is a Mould, free from Stones; but that Part of it, which lies next the Sea, and extends above twenty Stadia, is covered with great Numbers of stately Trees of every Kind. The rest of the Country is pleasant and spacious, abounding with Villages well inhabited; for it produces Barley, Wheat, and all sorts of Legumens, Panic, Sesame, a sufficient Quantity of Figs, Vines in Abundance, yielding a sweet Wine, and every Thing else but Olive-Trees. This is the Nature of the Country.

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THE Soldiers encamped along the Shore: Had they entered into any of the Villages, they would not have quartered there; because they suspected they were drawn thither by the Artifice of some People, who were desirous to build a City there. For the greatest Part of them had not engaged in this Service through Want, but induced by the Reputation of *Cyrus*, some even bringing Soldiers with them, who had spent their Fortunes, some having left their Fathers and Mothers, and others their Children with a Design to return, when they had acquired enough to enrich them; for they heard that the other *Greeks*, who before served under *Cyrus*, had made their Fortunes. This being their Situation, they were desirous to return, in Safety, to *Greece*.

THE Morning after the Junction of their Forces, *Xenophon* offered Sacrifice concerning their going out of the Camp; (for there was a Necessity to lead them out in Order to get Provisions) he also proposed to bury the Dead. The Victims being favourable, the *Arcadians* also followed him, and they buried the greatest Part

Part of the Dead, where each of them lay, (for their Bodies having lain five Days, there was no possibility of bringing them away) some of them they removed out of the Roads, and, laying them in a Heap, buried them with all the Decency that their present Circumstances would admit of. As for those whose Bodies could not be found, they erected a large ^c Cenotaph, with a great funeral Pile, which they crowned with Garlands. Having performed these Things, they returned to their Camp: And after they had supped, went to Rest. The next Day there was a general Meeting of the Soldiers, (they were chiefly assembled by *Agasias* of *Stymphalus*, one of the Captains, and *Hieronymus* of *Elis*, a Captain also, and by the oldest *Arcadian* Officers) in which they came to this Resolution, that,

^c Κενόταφιον. In the same Manner we find in *Thucy-* *Thucydides*, that the *Athenians*, in the Funeral of the first of their Countrymen, who were killed in the *Peloponnesian* War, besides a Coffin for every Tribe, carried also an empty one in Honour to the Memory of those, whose Bodies could not be found. *Virgil* has translated the Greek Word by *tumulus inanis* in the third Book, where he says *Andromache* had raised an empty Monument to the Manes of *Hector*, des, B. 2.

Manesque vocabat

*Hectoreum ad tumulum; viridi quem cespite inanem,
Et geminas, causam lacrimis, sacraverat aras.*

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that, for the future, whoever proposed dividing the Army, should be punished with Death; that the Army should march in the same Disposition it was in before, and that the same Generals should command. *Cheirisophus* having lost his Life by a Medicine he took in a Fever, *Neon* the *Asinean* succeeded him.

AFTER this *Xenophon*, rising up, said, *Gentlemen!* it seems we are under a Necessity both of travelling by Land, for we have no Ships, and of marching away immediately; for, if we stay, we shall want Provisions. We therefore shall offer Sacrifice; in the mean Time, if, upon any other Occasion, you were prepared to fight, prepare your selves for it now, for the Enemy have resumed their Courage. After this, the Generals offered Sacrifice in the Presence of *Arexion* of *Arcadia*, the Priest: For *Silanus* of *Ambracia* had hired a Ship, and made his Escape from *Heraclea*. But the Victims they sacrificed concerning their Departure, were not favourable: So they staid there that Day; and some had the Confidence to report, that *Xenophon*, being desirous to build a City there, had prevailed upon

upon the Priest to declare that the Victims were not favourable to their Departure. Upon this, *Xenophon* ordered a Herald to publish that any one, who was willing, might be present at the Sacrifice the next Day, and that, if there was any Priest among them, he should also attend, and assist in inspecting the Victims: He offered Sacrifice accordingly in the Presence of great Numbers: And, though Victims were three Times sacrificed concerning their Departure, still they were not favourable. This gave the Soldiers great Concern: For the Provisions they had brought with them were all consumed, and there was no Market near.

HEREUPON they re-assembled, and *Xenophon* said, *Gentlemen! The Victims, you see, are not yet favourable to our Departure: At the same Time, I see you are in Want of Provisions; it is necessary, therefore, in my Opinion, to offer Sacrifice concerning this.* Upon which one of the Men, rising up, said, *It is with Reason the Victims do not favour our Departure, for a Ship coming in yesterday by Accident, I was informed that Cleander, the Lacedæmonian Governor of* Byzan-

BOOK VI. *Byzantium, designed to come hither from
thence with Transports and Gallies.*

Upon this they all concluded to stay for him. However, they could not avoid going out to get Provisions, concerning which he again offered Sacrifice three Times, and still the Victims were not favourable: The Soldiers now came to Xenophon's Tent complaining they had no Provisions: But he told them he would not lead them out, while the Victims forbade it.

THE next Day he sacrificed again, and, it being a General Concern, almost all the Army crowded round the Sacrifice: But the Victims fell short. Still the Generals did not think fit to lead out the Army, however they called them together: and Xenophon said, *Possibly the Enemy may be assembled in a Body, and then we shall be under a Necessity of Fighting: If therefore we leave our Baggage in the Place of Strength, and march out prepared to fight, it is possible the Victims may be more favourable.* The Soldiers, hearing this, cried out it was to no Purpose to lead them to the Place he mentioned, but that they ought immediately to offer Sacrifice.

crifice. They had no Victims left: So they bought some Oxen out of a Cart, and sacrificed them; and *Xenophon* begged of *Cleanor*, the *Arcadian*, to shew an Earnestness, if this Sacrifice promised any Thing. Notwithstanding this the Victims were not favourable.

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HERE *Neon*, who had succeeded *Cheirisophus*, seeing the Men oppressed with Want, was desirous to gratify them, and, having found out a Man belonging to *Heraclea*, who said he was acquainted with some Villages in the Neighbourhood, where they might get Provisions, ordered Proclamation to be made that whoever was willing might go out to supply themselves, there being a Guide ready to conduct them. Upon this two thousand Men went out of the Camp with Javelins, leather Bags, Sacks, and other Vessels. While they were in the Villages dispersed in Plunder, some Horse, belonging to *Pharnabazus*, first fell upon them: These were come to the Assistance of the *Bitynians*, designing, jointly with them, to hinder, if possible, the *Greeks* from penetrating into *Phrygia*. This

BOOK Body of Horse killed no less than five
VI. hundred of the *Greeks*: The Rest fled to
a Mountain.

THE News of this Defeat was brought to the Camp by one of those who escaped. *Xenophon*, since the Victims were not favourable that Day, taking an Ox out of one of the Carts (for there were no other Victims) sacrificed it, and then went out to their Relief with all the Men who were not above fifty Years of Age: And, having brought off the rest, they returned to the Camp. It was now near Sun-set, and the *Greeks* eat their Supper in great Consternation: When, on a sudden, some *Bithynians*, coming up through the Thickets, surprized the advanced Guard, and, killing some of them, pursued the rest to the Camp: And, the Alarm being given, all the *Greeks* ran to their Arms. But it was not thought advisable to pursue the Enemy, or leave their Camp in the Night; for the Country was full of Thickets: So they lay, that Night, upon their Arms, taking Care effectually to reinforce their Out-Guards,

IN this Manner they passed the Night. BOOK VI.
The next Day, as soon as it was light, the Generals led them to the Place of Strength, and the Army followed, with their Arms and Baggage; and, before Noon, they had dug a Trench quite cross the Neck of Land that leads to the Promontory, and fortified the whole Length of it with Palisades, leaving three Gates. In the mean Time a Ship arrived from *Heraclea* laden with Barley-meal, Cattle, and Wine. *Xenophon* rising early offered Sacrifice concerning an Expedition against the Enemy, and the first Victim was favourable. When the Sacrifice was near an End, *Arexion* of *Parrhasie*, the Priest, saw an Eagle on the favourable side, and called out to *Xenophon* to lead on. After the Men had passed the Trench, they stood to their Arms, and the Generals ordered Proclamation to be made, that the Soldiers, as soon as they had dined, should march with their Arms, leaving those who had Care of the Baggage, and the Slaves behind. All the rest went out, except *Neon*; for it was thought most adviseable to leave him to command those who remained in the Camp. But,

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when the Captains and Soldiers were about to leave them, they were ashamed to stay behind, while the rest marched out; so they left only those, who were above five and forty Years of Age. These therefore staid in the Camp, and the rest marched forward. Before they had gone fifteen Stadia, they came to the dead Bodies, and, * extending one of their Wings upon a single Line, where the first of them lay, they buried all those that fell within the Line. After they had buried these as they marched along, they formed a Line of the other Wing, where the first of the Bodies lay unburied, and, in the same Manner, buried those that fell in their Way. And when they came to the Road, that led from the Villages, where the dead Bodies lay in Heaps, they brought them all together, and buried them.

It being now past Noon, they march-
ed

* Τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς κίρας ποιοῦσάντοι, κατὰ τὴν πρώτην
φασίντας κίρας, ἰθαυτοὶ πάντας ὁμοῦ ἐπιλαμβάνει τὸ κίρας.
I very much suspect that ὑπὲρ τῆς κίρας ποιοῦσάντοι
signifies to extend one of the Wings of an Army upon a Line;
but, as I do not find this Sense of the Expression support-
ed by the Authority of any Author, or Lexicon, though
I have consulted many, I only offer it as a Conjecture,
and leave it to the Consideration of the Learned.

ed clear of the Villages, and, while the Men were employed in taking whatever Provisions they met with within Reach of the Line, on a sudden, they discovered the Enemy marching over some Hills opposite to them. Their Army was disposed in a Line, and very numerous both in Horse and Foot: For *Spithridates* and *Rathines* were there with the Forces they had received from *Pharnabazus*. As soon as the Enemy saw the Greeks, they halted at the Distance of about fifteen Stadia. Upon this, *Arexion*, the Greek Priest, immediately offered Sacrifice, and the very first Victim was favourable. Then *Xenophon* said to the Generals, *Gentlemen! It is my Opinion that we ought to place some Bodies of Reserve behind the Line of Battle, to sustain it, if necessary, and that the Enemy when disordered, they may be received by these Bodies of Reserve, that will be fresh and in Order.* All this met with a general Approbation. *Do you therefore, continues he, advance against the Enemy, that, now we have seen them; and been seen by them, we may not stand still; and I will form the Bodies of Reserve in the Rear, in the manner you approve of, and follow you.*

UPON

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UPON this the Generals advanced in Silence; and *Xenophon*, having separated from the main Body the three hindmost Ranks, consisting of about two hundred Men each, placed one, commanded by *Samolas* of *Achaia*, behind the right Wing, another, of which *Pyrias* of *Arcadia* had the Command, behind the Center, and the third, commanded by *Phraſias*, an *Athenian*, behind the left Wing; these had Orders to follow the Line of Battle at the Distance of about one hundred Feet. As they marched on, those in the Front, coming to a Valley*, that was large, and difficult to pass, halted, not knowing whether it were passable or not, and an Order was given for all the Generals and Captains to come up to the Front. *Xenophon* wondered what should stop

* *Επὶ νάπτι μεγάλῃ.* I cannot approve of the Word *saltus*, which both *Leunclavius* and *Hutchinson* have made Use of, upon this Occasion, for *νάπτι*; I am very sensible that *νάπτι* signifies *saltus*, but I do not look upon that to be the Signification of the Word in this Place, because he tells us afterwards that there was a Bridge over this *νάπτι*, which I am sure is, in no Degree, applicable to *saltus*, particularly, since he calls it, *νάπτι μέγα*, which Addition puts it out of all Doubt that *Bocage épais* in *d'Ablancourt* is improper, since *Bocage* is a Diminutive. I have called it a *Valley*, in which I am supported by *Phavorinus*, who explains the Word in that Sense; *νάπτι*, ἡ κοιλότης τῆ ὁρῆς.

stop their March; but, as soon as he BOOK
VI,
heard the Order, he rode up in all Haste.

As soon as the officers were got together, *Sophænetus*, the oldest of the Generals, said it 'was not adviseable to pass a Valley of such Difficulty: But *Xenophon*, answering with some earnestness, said,

YOU know, Gentlemen! that I never willingly sought Dangers for you: Because I am sensible you want Safety, more than Glory: But this is our present Situation. It is not possible for us to go hence without fighting; for, if we do not engage the Enemy, as soon as we offer to depart, they will pursue us, and fall upon us in our Retreat. Consider therefore with yourselves, whether it is better for us to attack them with our Arms to cover us, or to see them pursuing us, when we are defenceless. You know also that there is no Honour to be got by flying from an Enemy, while even Cowards gain Courage by pursuing:

^f Οτι ου αξιον ειν διαβαινειν. I agree with *Hutchinson* that *Stephanus* and *Muretus* had no Reason to find Fault with this Reading; I go further: He calls it *satis sana Scriptura*, but I think the Phrase perfectly elegant, and of the same Turn with a Passage in *Demosthenes*, quoted by *Suidas*, δια γαρ τετο μαλιστα αξιον εστι σιωπᾶν, οτ' ετ' εστιν ο καταπλήσων, εθ' ο καλᾶσων ημᾶς. Upon which Occasion *Suidas* explains the Word in this Manner; αξιον· οι ρήτορες ἐπὶ τῷ εὐλόγῳ καὶ δίκαιε ἐκλαμβάνουσι.

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ing: For which Reason I had rather pursue with half the Number of Forces, than retreat with twice as many. Besides I am confident that you yourselves do not ^e expect the Enemy will stand, if we attack them; but we are all sensible that, if we retire, they will have Courage enough to follow us. However, to be on the other Side, with a difficult Valley in our Rear when we engage, is not that an Advantage worth contending for? May the ⁿ Enemy find every Passage open to their Flight! Whereas the Situation of the Place ought to instruct us that we can have no Hope of Safety, but in Victory. I wonder any one should think this Valley more dreadful

^ε ΕΛΠΙΖΕΙ. In this Sense Thucydides uses the Word in the Beginning of his History, where he says, that he chose the Peloponnesian War for his Subject, because he expected it would be of more Importance than any before it, *ἐλπίσας μέγα τι ἴσισθαι, καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον τῶν προγεγενημένων*. Upon which the Greek Scholiast observes, *το ἔλπίσας, ἔμνημον ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ, ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς ἐπὶ τῇ τῷ μέλλοντι ἐκβάσει λέγεται*. After the Example of the Greeks, the Latins also gave this Sense to the Word *spero*, as we find in Virgil, where Dido, in the Agony of her Mind, tells her Sister,

Virgil,
4 B.

*Hunc Ego si potui tantum sperare Dolorem,
Et preferre, soror, potero.*

ⁿ Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολεμίοις ἔγωγε βυλάμην ἂν ἔυπορα πάντα φαίσεσθαι, ὥς ἀποχωρεῖν. This soldierly Wish of Xenophon that the Enemy might have Hopes of Safety in a Retreat, while his own Men had none but in Victory, is thus disfigured by d'Ablancourt, *je voudrais que nous fussions si bien remparez de toutes Parts, qu'ils ne pussent pas par où nous attaquer, afin qu'ils se retirassent plutôt*.

ful than so many other Places we have passed BOOK VI.
 through. Shall we not find this very Place, VI.
 where we now are, difficult to march over, if
 we do not overcome the Horse? Will not the
 Mountains we have traversed be difficult to
 repass with such Numbers of Targeteers at
 our Heels? But admit even that we arrive
 at the Sea-Coast in Safety, how ¹ large a Val-
 ley is the Euxine Sea? Where we shall nei-
 ther find Ships to transport us, or, if we stay
 there, Provisions to subsist us. And, if we
 make Haste thither, we must haste abroad
 again to get Provisions. We had better there-
 fore fight now we have eaten something,
 than to-morrow, when we are fasting. Gen-
 tlemen! the Sacrifices are favourable, the
 Omens happy, and the Victims assure us of
 Success. Let us go on. Since the Enemy
 have seen us all, they ought not to eat their
 Supper with Satisfaction, or encamp where
 they please.

UPON

¹ Πόσον τι νάπῃ ὁ Πόντος; Methinks this Expression
 should have convinced the Latin Translators that νάπῃ
 was not, upon this Occasion, to be translated by saltus;
 however, they have, I find, still adhered to it, *Hutchinson*
 has said *quantus tandem saltus ipse Pontus est?* And *Leun-*
clavius, *quantus quæso saltus ipsum Pelagus Ponticum erit?*
 I expected *d'Ablancourt* would also have pursued his
 Translation, and have said, *quel Bocage sera le Pont Euxin?*
 But he has prudently avoided this Absurdity, by leaving
 out the whole Sentence.

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UPON this the Captains bid him lead on, and no one contradicted it: He therefore put himself at their Head, and ordered every Man to pass the Valley in his Rank, for he thought it would be more expeditious for the Army to pass over in a Body, than if they filed off over the Bridge, that lay cross the Valley. After they had passed it, *Xenophon*, coming up to the foremost Ranks, said, *Remember, Gentlemen! how many Battles, with the Assistance of the Gods you have gained, and what those are to expect who turn their Backs upon the Enemy. Consider also that we are at the Gates of Greece. Follow Hercules your Conductor, and exhort one another by Name. There is a Pleasure in reflecting that whoever, upon this Occasion, says or does any Thing brave and glorious, will be remembered by those whose Applause he is ambitious of.*

THIS he said as he rode along the Ranks: Then put himself at the Head of the Line of Battle, and, having placed the Targeteers upon the Wings, he marched against the Enemy. He had also ordered the heavy-armed Men to carry
their

their Pikes on their right Shoulders, 'till the Trumpet sounded; then to present them, and move slowly on: And that none should run, when they pursued. Upon this the Word was given, JUPITER THE PRESERVER, AND HERCULES THE CONDUCTOR. The Enemy, encouraged by the Advantage of their Post, stood their Ground; and, when our Men drew near, the *Greek* Targeteers shouted, and ran on before they were ordered. The Enemy's Horse, with the Body of *Bithynians*, advanced against them, and both together put the Targeteers to Flight: But, when the Line of Battle, consisting of the heavy-armed Men, marched briskly up to meet them, and, at the same Time, the Trumpet sounded, and the Men sung * the Pæan, then shouted, and presented their Pikes, they no longer stood their Ground, but fled. *Timasson* pursued them with the Horse, and his Men, being but few in Number, killed as many of them as they could. The Enemy's left Wing, which was opposite to the *Greek* Horse, was pre-

* Kai *ἠμῶν*. See note ¹, page 82, upon the first Book.

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presently dispersed: But the right, not being closely pursued, rallied upon a Hill. As soon as the *Greeks* saw them make a Stand, they thought the easiest and safest Thing they could do, was to charge them immediately. Accordingly, they sung the Pæan, and advanced directly: But the Enemy did not stand: The Targeteers pursued them 'till their right Wing was also dispersed. However, few of them were killed, for the Enemy's Horse being very numerous, kept the *Greeks* in Awe. When our Men saw the Body of Horse belonging to *Pharnabazus* still unbroken, and the *Bithynian* Horse flocking to them, and observing, from a Hill, what was doing, though they were spent with Labour, yet they resolved to charge them also, as well as they could, that they might give them no Time to recover their Spirit, and Breath. So they formed themselves, and marched against them. Upon this, the Enemy's Horse fled down the Hill with as much Precipitation, as if they had been pursued by Horse: For there was a Valley to receive them, which the *Greeks* knew nothing of, because, as it was late, they had given over the Pursuit,

suit, before they came to it. Then re-
turning to the Place, where the first Ac-
tion happened, they erected a Trophy,
and came back to the Sea about Sun-
set. For they had near sixty Stadia to
their Camp.

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AFTER this, the Enemy employed
themselves in their own Concerns, re-
moving their Families and¹ Effects to the
greatest Distance they could. In the
mean Time, the *Greeks* waited for the
Arrival of *Cleander* with the Gallies, and
Transports; and, going out every Day
with their sumpter Horses, and Slaves,
they furnished themselves, in all Security,
with Wheat, Barley, Wine, Legumens,
Panic, and Figs; for the Country pro-
duced every Thing but Oil. While the
Army lay in their Camp to refresh them-
selves, the Men had Liberty to go out for
Plunder; and, upon those Occasions the
Booty was their own: But, when the
whole Army went out, if any one strag-
gled from the rest, and got any Thing,
they determined it should belong to the
Public. The Camp now abounded in all
Things,

¹ Τα χεῖματα. See note ¹, page 35, upon the first Book.

BOOK VI. Things, for Provisions came from every Side out of the *Greek* Cities; and People, who sailed along the Coast, being informed that a City was going to be built with a Haven, willingly put in there: And those of the Enemy, who lived in the Neighbourhood, sent to *Xenophon*, hearing he had the Conduct of the intended Settlement, to know what they should do to deserve his Friendship; and he shewed them to the Soldiers. In the mean Time, *Cleander* arrived with two Gallies, but no Transports. It happened that, when he came, the Army was gone out to get Provisions, and a Party of Stragglers, going up the Mountain in Search of Plunder, took a great Number of Sheep; but, being afraid they should be taken from them, they informed *Dexippus* of it, (the same who ran away, with the fifty Oar-Galley, from *Trebisond*) and desired him to secure the Sheep, agreeing that he should retain some of them for his Pains, and restore the rest.

IMMEDIATELY *Dexippus* drove away the Soldiers who stood round them, and told him the Sheep belonged to the Public; then went to *Cleander*, and informed

formed him that they endeavoured to BOOK VI.
 take them away by Force. *Cleander* or-
 dered him to bring the Man, who at-
 tempted it, before him. Upon that, *Dex-
 ippus* seized one of the Men, and was
 carrying him away, when *Agasias*, meet-
 ing him, rescued the Man; for he be-
 longed to his Company: And the rest of
 the Soldiers, who were present, threw
 Stones at *Dexippus*, calling him Traitor.
 This put not only him, but many of the
 Men also, who belonged to the Gallies,
 in Fear, and made them fly to the Sea;
 and *Cleander* himself was among those
 who fled. Hereupon, *Xenophon*, and the
 rest of the Generals endeavoured to sup-
 press the Tumult, and told *Cleander*, that
 there was no Danger, and that all this
 was occasioned by the standing Order of
 the Army. But *Cleander*, being inflamed
 by *Dexippus*, and himself nettled for hav-
 ing discovered so much Fear, said he
 would sail away, and cause them to be
 proclaimed Enemies, and that, as such,
 none of the *Greek* Cities should receive
 them: For the ^m *Lacedæmonians* were, at
 that Time, the Masters of all *Greece*.

THE

^m ἔχον δὲ τότε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.
 See the Introduction, page 28, Vol. I.

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THE *Greeks* looked upon this as an Affair of bad Consequence, and begged of him not to do it: But he said it could not be otherwise, unless they delivered up the Man, who began throwing Stones, together with the Person, who rescued him. This was *Agasias*, the constant Friend of *Xenophon*; for which Reason *Dexippus* had accused him. In this Perplexity, the Commanders called the Army together, and some of them treated *Cleander*, as a Man of no Importance; but *Xenophon* thought the Affair of no small Consequence, and, rising up, said,

GENTLEMEN! I look upon it as a Matter of great Moment, if Cleander goes away, as he threatens, in this Disposition: For we are now in the Neighbourhood of the Greek Cities, and, as the Lacedæmonians preside over Greece, every single Lacedæmonian can effect whatever he pleases in these Cities. If therefore this Man first shuts us out of Byzantium himself, then gives Notice to the rest of the Lacedæmonian Governors not to receive us into their Cities, as Men refusing Obedience to the Lacedæmonians, and absolutely ungovernable, this
Character

Character of us will, at last, reach the Ears of Anaxibius, the Admiral; and then, it will be difficult for us either to stay where we are, or to sail away: For, at this Time, the Lacedæmonians command both at Sea, and Land. We ought not therefore, for the Sake of one, or two Men, to exclude ourselves from Greece, but to obey them in every Thing: For the Cities, to which we belong, obey them. As to my own Particular (for I hear Dexippus tells Cleander, that Agasias had never done this, if I had not given him Orders) for my Part I say, I am ready to clear both you and Agasias of this Accusation, if he will say that I was the Author of any of these Things, and to condemn myself, if I began throwing Stones, or any other Violence, to the last of Punishments, and will submit to it. My Advice also is, that, if Cleander should accuse any other Person, he ought to surrender himself to him to be tried: By this Means you will be free from Censure. As Things now stand, it will be hard, if we, who expect to meet with Applause, and Honour in Greece, should, instead of that, not even be in the same Condition with the rest of our Countrymen; but be excluded from the Greek Cities.

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VI.

AFTER this, *Agasias* rose up, and said, Gentlemen! I call the Gods and Goddesses to witness, that, neither *Xenophon*, nor any other Person among you, ordered me to rescue the Man: But, seeing *Dexippus* (who, you know, has betrayed you) carrying away a brave Man belonging to my Company, I thought it was not to be borne, and own I rescued him. Think not of delivering me up, for I will surrender myself to *Cleander*, as *Xenophon* advises, to be tried by him, and used as he thinks fit. Let this be no Cause of War between you, and the *Lacedæmonians*; but, let every Man return, with Safety, to whatever Part of Greece he pleases. I only desire you will chuse some of your own Number, and send them with me, to *Cleander*, that, if I omit any Thing, they may both speak, and act in my Behalf. Upon this, the Army gave him Leave to chuse such Persons as he thought proper to accompany him: And he chose the Generals. *Agasias*, and the Generals accordingly went to *Cleander*, together with the Man who had been rescued by *Agasias*; and the Generals spoke to *Cleander* in the following Manner:

THE

THE Army has sent us to you, O Cleander! and desires, if you accuse them all, that you will yourself pass Sentence upon them all, and treat them as you think fit: If one, or two, or more of them, they have thought proper these should surrender themselves to you, and submit to your Judgment. If therefore you accuse any of us, here we are before you: If any other, let us know it; for no Man shall refuse to submit to your Judgment, who will submit to our Command. After this, Agasias, advancing, said, I am the Person, O Cleander! that rescued this Man, whom Dexippus was carrying away, and that gave Orders to our Men to strike Dexippus; for I knew the Soldier to be a good Man, and that Dexippus, who had been chosen by the Army to command the Galley we begged of the Inhabitants of Trebisonde, in Order to get Ships together to transport us, had run away with the Galley, and betrayed the Soldiers, to whom he owed his Preservation. Thus, he is the Cause not only of our having deprived the Inhabitants of Trebisonde of their Galley; but of our being looked upon, as ill Men, and, as far as it lay in his Power, of our Ruin; For he had heard, as well as we, that, if we went by Land, it was impossible for us to pass

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VI.

the Rivers, that lay in our Way, and return to Greece. Such is the Character of the Person, from whom I rescued the Man. If either you or any one belonging to you, had been carrying him away, and not one of our own Deserters, be assured that I should have attempted no such Thing. Know then, that, if you put me to Death, you will destroy a brave Man, for the Sake of a Coward, and a Villain.

CLEANDER, hearing this, said, he could not approve of the Conduct of Dexippus, if he had been guilty of these Things; But, adds he, in my Opinion, though Dexippus were the worst of Men, no Violence should be offered to him, but that he ought to be tried, (in the Manner you yourselves propose) and punished, if guilty. As for you, leave Agasias with me, and depart; and, when I give you Notice, be present at his Trial. I neither accuse the Army, nor any other Person, since Agasias himself owns he rescued the Man. Upon this, the Soldier, who had been rescued, said, Though you seem to think, O Cleander! that I was apprehended, as an Offender, yet know that I neither struck any one, or threw Stones at
any;

any; I only said the Sheep belonged to the Public: For the Soldiers had made an Order that, when the whole Army went out, whatever Booty was taken by any particular Person, should belong to the Public. This was all I said, and, for this, Dexippus seized me with a Design to carry me away, that, every Man's Mouth being stopped, he might have his Share of the Booty, and secure the rest for his Accomplices, contrary to the standing Order of the Army. To this, Cleander answered, Since you are that Kind of Man, stay here, that we may consider what to do with you also.

AFTER this, Cleander, and his Company went to Dinner: And Xenophon, assembling the Army, advised them to send some Persons to Cleander to intercede for the Men. Hereupon, they resolved to send the Generals, and Captains, together with Dracontius, the Spartan, and other proper Persons, to entreat Cleander, by all Means,

^a *ἡγεῖται τῶν νόμων*. I have taken *ἡγεῖται* here in the same Sense that Plutarch says *Lycurgus* used it when he called his Decrees by that Name: I am sensible that the Word also signifies an Agreement, but, as our Author calls *Lives* of the same Thing *τῶν γενομένων νόμους* a few Lines before, *Lycurgus* I have chosen to give it that Sense here also. *Leunclavius* and *Age* has said, very properly, *contra Edictum*, and *Hutchinson*, *I filaus*. think, not so well, *contra Pactum*. *D'Ablancourt* has, according to his Custom where he meets with a Difficulty, left it out.

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Means, to release them. As soon as *Xenophon* came to him, he said, *The Men you demanded, O Cleander! are in your Hands, and the Army makes you not only Master of their Fate, but of its own. However, they now conjure you to give up these two Men to them, and not to put them to Death; because, upon all Occasions, both of them have taken great Pains to do Service to the Army. If they can prevail upon you in this, they promise you, in Return, if you think fit to be their General, and the Gods are propitious, to let you see both how observant they are, and how incapable, while they obey their Commander, and Heaven assists them, of fearing an Enemy.. They also beg of you, that, when you are with them, and have taken upon you the Command, you will make Trial of Dexippus, and of themselves, and others, and then reward each, according to his Merit. Cleander, hearing this, said, By ° Castor and Pollux, I will return*

Aristoph.

Eg.

V. 213.

° Ναὶ μὰ τὸ Σιῶ. This was an Oath much used by the *Lacedæmonians*; by τὸ Σιῶ are meant the two Brother-Gods, *Castor and Pollux*, as we find by what the Greek Scholiast observes upon the following Passage of *Aristophanes*, where *Mercury* says to *Trygæus*, in the *Lacedæmonian Style*,

Ναὶ τὸ Σιῶ, ὡς Ἀθηναῖον δώσει δίκην.

Upon this the Scholiast says, ἔτω τὰς Διοσκύρους οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Σιῶς ἱεροὶ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι Θεοὶ, Δήμητρα καὶ Περσεφόνη.

return you an Answer immediately: I not only
 give you up the Men, but will come to you
 myself; and, if the Gods are, in any Degree,
 favourable, I will conduct you into Greece.
 Your Discourse is very different from the Re-
 ports I have heard of some of you, as if you
 were endeavouring to render the Army dis-
 affected to the Lacedæmonians.

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AFTER this, those who were sent by
 the Army, applauded him, and returned
 with the two Men. Cleander offered Sa-
 crifice concerning the Journey, and con-
 versed, in a friendly Manner, with Xeno-
 phon, and they two contracted an ^p Inter-
 course of Hospitality: And, when he saw
 the Obedience, and exact Discipline of
 the Army, he was still more desirous of
 commanding them. But, after he had
 offered Sacrifice for three Days, and the
 Victims were not favourable, he called
 the Generals together, and said, *The Vic-
 tims will not allow me to conduct the Army;
 but let not that discourage you: For it looks
 as if this was reserved for you. Go on there-
 fore; and, when you are arrived at Byzan-
 tium, we will receive you in the best Manner
 we are able.*

UPON

^p *ἑνίαρ*. See note ⁿ, page 11, upon the first Book.

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UPON this, the Soldiers thought proper to make him a Present of the Sheep that belonged to the Public; These he accepted, and gave them to the Army again, and then failed away. The Soldiers, having sold the Corn they had brought with them, and the rest of the Booty they had taken, marched on through *Bithynia*; and, meeting nothing in the direct Road

to

Ἡ Διαδίμενοι τὸν εἶρος. I have been obliged to differ from all the Translators, both *Latin*, and *French*, in the Sense I have given to the Word διαδίμενοι; the former have rendered it *divise*, *distributo frumento*, and *d'Ablancourt*, *les Soldats le partagerent*, which Signification I will not say absolutely the Word will not bear, though I believe it very uncommon; but I really think the Sense will not bear it here, for our Author says they marched back, that they might carry something with them into the Territories of their Friends, which they might have done, without marching back, had they before divided among themselves the Booty they had taken: I have therefore said, *after they had sold the Corn, and the rest of their Booty*, which is a very common Acceptation of the Word διατίθεσθαι, and the very Sense, in which our Author uses it in his *Cyropædia*, where he makes *Cyrus* tell his Officers, and those of the *Hyrceanians*, that they should divide the Money, in such a Proportion, among the Horse, and Foot, ὑμῖς δὲ λαβόντες διαδίδοτε, ἰπτεῖ μὲν, τὸ διπλῆν, οὐκ ὧ δὲ, τὸ ἀπλοῦν, and, a little after, that they should publish an Order for the Suttelers, and Merchants to sell their Commodities, and, when they had sold them, to bring others, πωλεῖν δὲ τὰς καθήλας καὶ ἐμπόρους ὅτι ἔχει ἕκαστος πρᾶσιμον καὶ ταῦτα διαθεμίνας, ἀλλὰ ἄγειν: Upon this Occasion I desire the Reader will take Notice, first, that διαδίδοτε, not διατίθεσθαι, is the Word made use of there, by our Author, for *dividite*, *distribuite*; secondly, that he there uses διαδίμενοι in the same Sense I have translated it, upon this Occasion, in which Sense also both *Leunclavius*, and *Hutchinson* have rendered the Word, in translating that Passage of the *Cyropædia*.

Κύρου
παῖδ.
4 B.

to carry with them into the Territories of their Friends, they resolved to march back one Day, and a Night: And, having done so, they took great Numbers both of Slaves, and Cattle; and, after six Days March, arrived at *Chrysopolis*, a Town of *Chalcedonia*, and there they staid seven Days, to sell their Booty.

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VI.

* Εἰς Χρυσόπολιν. *Chrysopolis* was no more than a Village in *Strabo's* Time, that is, in the Time of *Augustus*, *Strabo*, αὐτῇ πόλει Χρυσόπολις; it is now called *Scutari*, and, though separated from *Constantinople* by the *Bosphorus*, is looked upon, by the *Turks*, as one of the Suburbs of their Capital. *Polybius* informs us that the *Athenians*, being in possession of *Chrysopolis*, endeavoured, by the Advice of *Alcibiades*, to oblige those who sailed through the *Bosphorus* into the *Euxine* Sea, to pay Toll. This was, many Ages after, put in Practice with greater Effect by *Mahomet* the Second, by Means of a Castle which he built upon a Cape on the Side of *Europe*, where the Temple of *Mercury*, called by *Polybius* Ἐρμαῖον, formerly stood; opposite to this Castle *Mourat* the Second had, before, built a Castle on the *Asiatic* Side, called, by the modern *Greeks*, *Neocastron*. This Castle *Mahomet* the Second, upon his succeeding *Mourat*, fortified considerably: The Streight between those two Castles *Polybius* says is the narrowest of the whole *Bosphorus*, it being but about five *Stadia* (near half an *English* Mile) over. The same Author adds that this was the Pass, over which *Darius Hystaspes* caused *Mandrocles* of *Samos*, as he is called by *Herodotus*, an eminent Architect, to lay a Bridge, over which he passed his Army, consisting of seven hundred thousand Men, to make War upon the *Scythians*.

12 B.
Tournefort, 15
Letter.

Polybius, 4 B.

Ib.

Herodot.
in *Melpomene*.

The End of the Sixth Book.

A
DISSERTATION
UPON THE
ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION.

*Histoire
du Ciel,
32 c.*

I Shall take this Opportunity to consider what the learned, and polite Author of the *History of Heaven* has advanced upon the Subject of the *Argonautic Expedition*; he contends, it seems, that it is all a Fiction; his Reasons are these: He begins by proving, from *Herodotus*, and *Strabo*, that the *Colchians*, who are supposed to have been the Possessors of the Golden Fleece, were a Colony of the *Ægyptians*, and that, like them, they were famous for their Linen Manufacture, which drew the *Greeks* to *Colchis*, in order to traffic with them: Upon this Foundation that Gentleman builds the following System; he supposes that, when the

the *Colchians* were to be summoned to leave their fishing for Gold, with Fleeces, in the River *Phasis*, in order to apply themselves to their Linen Manufacture, they put a Shuttle into the Hands of *Isis*, and because ארגון *Argonatoun* signifies, in *Hebrew*, the Manufacture of Linen, he concludes that the *Greek* Merchants, who were at *Colchis*, called this Shuttle, from the Resemblance which it has to a Ship, *Argonaus*. He goes on, and says that נשון *Jashon*, signifies, in *Hebrew*, to sleep, and מדה *Mideh*, a Measure, and that, when the *Colchians* were summoned to leave fishing for Gold, with their Fleeces, and apply themselves to their Linen Manufacture, they were obliged to watch great Part of the Night, and, consequently, their Sleep was regulated; from whence he infers, that the *Greeks*, hearing the Words *Jashon* and *Mideh* often pronounced by the *Colchians*, framed the Fable of the Ship *Argo*, *Jason*, *Medea*, and the Golden Fleece. This is the System of that learned Gentleman, which, I am apt to believe, will hardly find so great Success in the World as all the rest of that Author's Writings have deservedly met with. I

*In Eu-
terpe.*

am very willing to allow that the *Colchians* were a Colony of the *Ægyptians*, and that, according to the Testimony of *Herodotus*, they spoke the same Language, and had the same Religion, the same Laws, the same Customs, and the same Manufactures, particularly that of Linen. But is an Affinity between some *Hebrew* Words, and the Names of *Argonaut*, *Jason*, and *Medea* a sufficient Authority to overthrow an Expedition supported by the concurrent Testimony of all ancient Authors, both *Greeks*, and *Romans*, Poets, and Historians? But this Affinity will still have less Weight, when it is considered that the Language the *Colchians* spoke, being, with great Reason, supposed, by this Gentleman, to be the *Ægyptian*, an Affinity between the *Hebrew* Words, and those Names, will be no Proof of what is contended for, unless an Affinity between the *Ægyptian*, and *Hebrew* Languages, be first established; but that is a Task not easy to be performed, since the *Ægyptian* Language is so far lost, that not one Letter of it has escaped: There are, indeed, some few *Egyptian* Words to be met with in the *Greek*, and *Latin* Authors, but then they

they are written in the Characters of the Language those Authors writ in; but even these few Words contradict the Supposition of that Affinity between the *Ægyptian*, and *Hebrew* Languages: As for Example, *Pliny* tells us that *Obeliscus* signifies, in *Ægyptian*, a Ray of the Sun, which is very probable, because their Obelisks were dedicated to the Sun, whereas, in *Hebrew*, קרן *Kran* signifies a Ray of the Sun. But the Author, of all others, who will furnish us with most Materials for this Purpose, is *Diodorus Siculus*, from whom I shall take some Passages, which will evidently shew that the Supposition of an Affinity between the *Ægyptian*, and *Hebrew* Languages, which is the Point laboured throughout by the Author of the *History of Heaven*, is without Foundation. *Diodorus* tells us that the two foremost of the long Catalogue of Divinities, adored by the *Ægyptians*, were the Sun and Moon, worshipped by them under the well-known Names of *Osiris*, and *Isis*, and that the first is an *Ægyptian* Word, which, being translated into the Greek Language, signifies πολυόφθαλμος, many-eyed: This Word is not, I believe, to be met with in

Pl. N. H.

36 B. 14 c.

Diod. Sic.

1 B.

the

the sacred Writings, but רב *Rab*, in Hebrew, signifies *many*, and נין *Ngin* an Eye, neither of which has the least Affinity to the *Ægyptian* Word *Osiris*: The same Author tells us that *Isis* is an *Ægyptian* Word also, which, being translated into Greek, signifies παλαιά *Old*, this, in Hebrew, is זקן *Zeken*: Here again there is not the least Shadow of an Affinity. The same Author says that *Athena*, the *Ægyptian Pallas*, is also an *Ægyptian* Word, signifying, in Greek, αἴηρ the *Air*, the *Sky*, or *visible Heaven*, so that he very justly gathers that the Epithet, γλαυκῶπις *blue-eyed*, was much more applicable to *Pallas* from that Sense of the Word than because she was supposed by the *Greeks*, to have *blue Eyes*. In Hebrew, the *Sky* is שמים *Sbamaim*. Here again there is no Pretence to any Affinity between the two Languages. Towards the End of the first Book, the same Author observes that *Charon* in *Ægyptian*, signifies πλωγῆς in Greek, a *Pilot*, from whence he says the *Greeks* took the Name of their imaginary Ferryman, as they took the Fable of his carrying over the Souls of the Departed, and of their Trials before the three infernal

nal Judges, from the real Trial which all the Deceased, among the *Ægyptians*, underwent, before they were suffered to be honoured with Funeral Rites. Upon this Occasion, *Diodorus Siculus*, with great Reason, complains that the *Greeks*, by turning this Practice of the *Ægyptians* into a Fable, have defeated the End of its Institution; for, he says, the Fictions, propagated by their Poets, of the Rewards of the Virtuous, and of the Punishments of the Wicked, instead of promoting a Reformation of Manners, are laughed at by ill Men, and received with general Contempt; whereas, among the *Ægyptians*, the Punishments of the Wicked, and the Rewards of the Virtuous, being not fictitious, but visible to all the World, and the daily Subject of Honour, or Infamy to the Families of both, are, of all others, the greatest Incitement to Virtue. Now the *Hebrew* Word for a Pilot is *חבלי* *Hboble*, which is far enough from *Charon*. The last *Ægyptian* Word I shall make Use of, shall be from *Herodotus*, who says that, *Herodot.* in the *Ægyptian* Language, Crocodiles ^{in Euterp.} are called *Champsæ*, καλέονται δὲ, ἔ κροκό-
δειλοι, ἀλλὰ χάμψαι. I am sensible there is some Diversity of Opinions concerning
the

Job xli.

Hierozoi-
con P. I.
L. I. c. 7.
& P. II.
L. V. c.
16, 17.

the Sea monster, called in the Book of *Job*, לִיָּתָן *Levithan*; however, there is little Room to doubt of its being a Crocodile, which Opinion is supported by *Bochart*, who proves it by a Passage of the *Thalmud*, where it is said that the כלבית *Calbith*, or the *Icbneumon*, as he calls it, is the Terror of the *Leviathan*. But the Description of it, in the Book of *Job*, will, I believe, be found to be applicable to no other Animal. *Canst thou fill his Skin with barbed Irons? or his Head with Fish-spears? Behold the Hope of catching him is vain: Shall not a Man be cast down even at the Sight of him? None is so fierce that dare stir him up. — Who can open the Doors of his Face? His Teeth are terrible round about. His Scales are his Pride, shut up together as with a close Seal; one so near to another that no Air can come between them; they are joined one to another, they stick together, that they cannot be sundered. When he sneezes, the Light flashes, and his Eyes are like the Eye-Lids of the Morning. — When he raiseth up himself the Mighty are afraid. — The Sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold; the Spear, the Dart, or the Breast-plate. He esteemeth Iron as Straw, and Brass as rotten Wood. After this Description of*
the

the Fierceness of the *Leviathan* and of his offensive and defensive Weapons, I am surprized that it should ever have been taken for the Whale, which is a Creature terrible in nothing but his Bulk, and of a sluggish, rather than a fierce Disposition. Now, it is certain that no two Words can be, in all Respects, more distant from one another, than *Leviathan* and *Champse*: And, indeed, how should the *Ægyptian* Language, have any Resemblance to any other, when, if the Account given by *Herodotus* is to be depended on, the *Ionians*,^{Herodot. in Euterpi} and *Carians*, who assisted *Psammitichus* in destroying his Brother Kings, being eleven in Number, were the first Persons, speaking a different Language, whoever settled in *Ægypt*, *πρῶτοι γὰρ ἔτοι (Ιωνές τε καὶ Κᾱρες) ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν.* From this Settlement of the *Ionians*, and *Carians* in *Ægypt*, *Herodotus* dates the Beginning of the Intercourse between the *Ægyptians*, and the *Greeks*, and, very probably, their Intercourse with the *Phœnicians* began soon after, from whom possibly, they may have taken some Terms relating to Commerce, and to some other Things, they might have learned from them, which, from the Affinity between

the *Phœnician*, and *Hebrew* Languages, may have some distant Resemblance to a few Terms of the latter. There are a few more *Ægyptian* Words to be met with in *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, which have no more Affinity with the *Hebrew*, than those I have mentioned; it is possible the *Chinese* Language may, for some Reasons that do not belong to this Subject, be found to have more Affinity with that of the *Ægyptians*. But, if the concurrent Testimony of so many Authors is not thought sufficient to establish the Reality of the *Argonautic* Expedition, we must call in the Assistance of the Stars to support it; half the Sphere is peopled with *Argonauts*, or furnished with something relating to them; no wonder when either *Chiron*, the Master of *Jason*, or *Musæus*, one of the *Argonauts*, was the first Inventor of it, and adorned it with Asterisms. There is the golden Ram, the Ensign of the Vessel, in which *Phryxus* fled to *Colchis*; the Bull with brazen Hoofs tamed by *Jason*; and the Twins, *Castor* and *Pollux*, two of the *Argonauts*, with the Swan of *Leda*, their Mother. There is the Ship *Argo*, and *Hydrus* the watchful Dragon, with *Medea's* Cup, and a Raven upon its Car-

Sir Isaac
Newton's
Chronolo-
gy, p. 84.

Carcass, the Symbol of Death. There is *Chiron* the Master of *Jason* with his Altar and Sacrifice. There is the *Argonaut Hercules* with his Dart and the Vulture falling down; and the Dragon, Crab, and Lion, which he slew; and the Harp of the *Argonaut Orpheus*. But, it may be said that the *Argonautic Expedition* is as fictitious as the Asterisms, by which it is delineated. However, the Position of the *Æquinoxes*, and *Solstices*, in Relation to those Asterisms, at the Time of that Expedition, is not fictitious; and we know that those four Cardinal Points, then answered to the middle, that is the 15th Degrees, of *Aries*, *Cancer*, *Chelæ*, and *Capricorn*; this Position, I say, is not fictitious, any more than the Retrogradation of the *Æquinoxes*, and *Solstices*, not after the rate of 100 Years to a Degree, as *Hipparchus*, and the *Greek Astronomers* thought, but after the rate of 72 only, as the modern Philosophers have discovered: The Cause of which Retrogradation, or, to speak in the Language of the Astronomers, of which Precession of the *Æquinoxes*, was unknown to all of them, 'till *Sir Isaac Newton*, by that amazing Sagacity,

X 2

city, which was peculiar to him, and which gave him so visible a Superiority over all other Philosophers of all Nations, and all Ages, not only discovered, but clearly demonstrated, that it is owing to the broad spheroidical Figure of the Earth, and that this Figure arises from the Rotation of the Earth round its Axis. It will, I believe, be thought strange that such a Cloud of Authorities should be dispelled by the single Breath of one Man, supported by no other Arguments, than a strained Analogy between three, or four *Hebrew Words*, and the Names of *Argonaut*, *Jason* and *Medea*. I shall end this long, and I fear, tedious Note with declaring that, though I have the Misfortune of differing in Opinion with the Author of the *History of Heaven* upon this Occasion, yet I have all the Deference in the World both for his Learning, and his polite Manner of communicating it to the Public, and all possible Gratitude for the Pleasure, and Instruction I have had in reading his Works.



THE
EXPEDITION
OF
C Y R U S.

BOOK VII.

THE preceding Discourse contains a Relation of the Actions the *Greeks* performed during their Expedition with *Cyrus* to the Battle, of those they atchieved after his Death, during their Retreat, 'till they came to the *Euxine* Sea, and of those they performed, after their Departure thence, both by Sea, and Land, 'till they arrived at *Chrysopolis*, a City of *Asia*, situated without the Mouth of that Sea.

AFTER

BOOK
VII.

AFTER this, *Pharnabazus*, fearing lest the *Greeks* should make an Irruption into the Country under his Command, sent to *Anaxibius* the Admiral, (who happened to be then at *Byzantium*) to desire he would transport the Army out of *Asia*, with Assurance that, in Return, he would do every Thing, that could reasonably be expected. Hereupon, *Anaxibius* sent for the Generals and Captains to *Byzantium*; and promised, if the Army came over, they should have Pay. The rest of the Officers told him, they would consider of it, and let him know their Resolution; but *Xenophon* said he proposed to leave the Army, and wanted to sail away. However *Anaxibius* desired he would come over with the Army, before he left it, which the other consented to.

IN the mean Time, *Seuthes*, the *Thracian*, sent *Medosades* to *Xenophon* to desire he would let him have his Assistance in prevailing upon the Army to pass into *Europe*, assuring him he should have no Reason to repent it. *Xenophon* said, *The Army will certainly pass over: Let him not therefore give any Thing either to me, or to*
any

any other Person, upon that Account. As soon as it is transported, I shall depart; let him therefore apply to those who stay, and may be of Service to him, in such a Manner as he thinks fit. BOOK VII.

AFTER this the whole Army passed over to *Byzantium*; but *Anaxibius* gave them no Pay: However, he published an Order that the Soldiers should go out of the Town with their Arms, and Baggage, as if he designed to dismiss them, and to take an Account of their Numbers at the same Time. The Soldiers were uneasy at this; because they had no Money to furnish themselves with Provisions for their March; and packed up their Baggage with Reluctance.

XENOPHON, having before contracted an Intercourse of Hospitality with *Cleander*, the *Lacedæmonian* Governor, went to take his Leave of him, designing to set sail immediately. But he said to him, I desire you will not do it; if you do, you will be blamed; for you are already accused by some People as the Cause of the Army's creeping so slowly out

BOOK out of the Town. *Xenophon* answered, I
 VII. am not the Cause of this; but the Sol-
 diers, being in want of Money to buy
 Provisions, are for that Reason, of them-
 selves, unwilling to leave the Town.
 However, says *Cleander*, I advise you to
 go out with them, as if you designed to
 proceed; and, when the Army is out of
 the Town, to depart. Let us go then,
 says *Xenophon*, to *Anaxibius*, and settle it
 in this Manner: And coming to him,
 they informed him of what they had de-
 termined. He advised them to pursue it,
 and that the Army should immediately
 go out with their Baggage: At the same
 Time he desired they would also give
 Notice, that whoever absented himself
 from the Review, and Muster, should in-
 cur their Censure. Upon this, the Gene-
 rals first, and, after them, the rest of the
 Army went out of the Town. They were
 now all out, except a few, and *Eteonicus*
 stood ready at the Gates to shut, and bolt
 them, as soon as they were all gone.

ANAXIBIUS therefore, calling to-
 gether the Generals, and Captains, said,
You may supply yourselves with Provisions out
 of

of the Thracian Villages, where there is BOOK
VII.
great Plenty of Barley, and Wheat, and of
all Things necessary: As soon as you have
furnished yourselves, go on to the ^a Chersone-
sus, where Cyniscus will give you Pay.
Some of the Soldiers overheard this, or,
possibly, one of the Captains informed
the Army of it. In the mean Time, the
Generals enquired concerning *Seuthes*,
whether he were a Friend, or an Enemy;
and whether they were to march over the
holy Mountain, or round through the
Middle of *Thrace*.

WHILE they were engaged in this
Discourse, the Soldiers snatched up their
Arms,

^a Εἰς τὴν Χερσόνησον. The Thracian Chersonesus was Pl. N. H.
separated from the rest of *Thrace* by a Wall reaching, 4 B.
from the *Propontis*, to the Bay called *Sinus Melas*, in the Diod. Sic.
Ægean Sea. This Wall was built by *Dercyllidas*, the 14 B.
Lacedæmonian General, the second Year of the 95th Olym-
piad, that is, the Year after *Xenophon* brought back the Xenoph.
Remains of the Soldiers, who had served under *Cyrus*: Ελλην.
This Wall was begun in the Spring, and ended before 3 B.
the Autumn of the same Year; it reached from Sea to
Sea quite cross the Isthmus, and was in Length thirty-
seven Stadia, that is, about three English Miles and three
Quarters: This *Chersonesus* contained in it eleven Towns,
many Sea-Ports, and a large Extent of arable Land,
Woods, and rich Pastures. It afterwards belonged to
Agrippa, Son-in-Law to *Augustus*, and one of the greatest Dion.
Men of that, or of any other Age: At his Death it came Cassius
to *Augustus*. It is great Pity that Part of the seventh Book 54 B.
of *Strabo* is lost, where he treats of this *Chersonesus*.

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Arms, and ran hastily to the Gates, with a Design to force their way back into the Town. But *Eteonicus*, with those about him, when they saw the heavy-armed Men running to the Gates, immediately shut, and bolted them. Upon this, the Soldiers ^b knocked at the Gates, and complained they were treated with great Injustice, in being shut out of the Town, as a Prey to the Enemy; threatening to cut the Gates asunder, if they would not open them. Some ran to the Sea, and got over the ^c Mole into the Town; and others, who happened to be within, observing what was doing at the Gates, cleft the Bars with Hatches, and set them open: Upon this they all rushed in.

XENOPHON, seeing what passed, and being afraid the Army should fall to plundering, and, by that Means, an irreparable Mischief should be done, not only to the Town, but to himself, and the Soldiers, ran in all Haste, and got within the

^b Εκοπτον τὰς πύλας. *Lucian* for ever uses this Word in the Sense I have given it here.

^c Παρὰ τὴν χηλὴν. *Κηλαί*: οἱ ἔμπροσθεν τῆ πρὸς θάλασσαν τείχους προεβλημένοι λίθοι, διὰ τῶν τῶν κυμάτων βίαν, μὴ τὸ τεῖχος βλάπτοιτο· παρὰ τὸ εἰσικεῖναι χηλῇ βούς. *Suidas*.

the Gates, together with the Croud. As soon as the Inhabitants saw the Army break in, they fled out of the Market, some hurrying to the Ships, others to their Houses, and those, who were within Doors, ran out: Some haled down the Gallies into the Sea, in Hopes of saving themselves in them: And all thought themselves undone, the Town being taken. Upon this, *Eteonicus* fled to the Citadel; and *Anaxibius* running down to the Sea, failed round to the same Place, in a Fisher-Boat, and immediately, sent for the Garrison from *Chalcedon*: For he did not think that in the Citadel sufficient for its Defence.

As soon as the Soldiers saw *Xenophon*, they crouded about him, and said, *You have now an Opportunity, O Xenophon! of making yourself a Man. You are Master of a Town, of Gallies, of Money, and of so many People: You have now the Power, if you think fit, of making us rich, and we that of making you considerable. You say well, says Xenophon; and I will follow your Advice: If, therefore, this is your Desire, place yourselves in your Ranks immediately, and handle*

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your Arms. He gave these Orders with a Design to quiet them, and, for the same Reason, directed the Rest of the Officers to give Orders that their Men also should stand to their Arms. The Soldiers drew up of their own accord, the heavy-armed Men presently forming themselves into a Body of fifty deep, and the Targeteers repairing to each of the Wings. The Place where they stood was called the *Thracian Square*, and being free from Houses, and even, was very proper for a Parade. When they all stood armed in their Ranks, and their Minds were appeased, *Xenophon* addressed himself to the Assembly, in the following Manner ;

GENTLEMEN! *I am not at all surprized at your Resentment, and that you look upon yourselves as very ill used, by being imposed on. But, if we indulge our Anger, and not only take Revenge of the Lacedæmonians, who are present, for this Imposition, but plunder the City, that is, in no Degree, guilty, consider what will be the Consequence: We shall, from that Moment, be the declared Enemies both of the Lacedæmonians, and of their Allies ; and, of what Nature this War*

a

will

will be, may be easily guessed, by those who BOOK
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have seen, and call to Mind what has hap-
pened of late Years. For, when ^d we Athe-
nians entered upon the War with the Lacedæmonians, and their Allies, we had a Fleet
of no less than four hundred Gallies, some of
which were at Sea, and others, in ^e the Docks:
We had a great Sum of Money in the Treas-
ury, and an annual Revenue payable both by
the Citizens, and Foreigners, of no less than
^f one thousand Talents: We had the Command
of all the Islands; we were possessed of many
Cities both in Asia, and Europe, and even of
Byzantium, where we now are: Yet, with
all these Advantages, we were overcome by
them, as you all know. What then have we
now to expect, when the Lacedæmonians,
and the Achæans are united, and the Athe-
nians, with those who were then in Alliance
with them, are all become an Accession to their
Power? When ^g Tissaphernes, and all the
rest of the Barbarians, who inhabit the Sea-
Coast,

^d Ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. See the Introduction.

^e Ἐν τοῖς νεώροις. Νεώρια λέγεται ὁ τόπος ὅπου εἰς ὃν ἀνέλκονται αἱ τρεῖς, καὶ πάλιν ἐξ αὐτῆς κατέλκονται. Harpocration. For which he cites Lycurgus, and Andocides.

^f Χιλίων Ταλάντων. See note ^m, page 9, upon the first Book.

^g Τισσαφέρνης. See note ^z, page 6, upon the first Book.

BOOK VII. *Coast, are our Enemies, and the King of Persia himself the most inveterate of all, against whom we have made War with a Design to deprive him of his Kingdom, and if possible, of his Life too? When all these join their Forces, is there any one so void of Sense, as to flatter himself that we shall prove superior to them? for Heaven's Sake, Gentlemen! let us not go mad, and perish with Dishonour, by becoming the proclaimed Enemies to our Fathers, our Friends, and our Relations? For these all live in the Cities, that will make War upon us: And not without Reason; if, having declined to possess ourselves of any Town belonging to the Barbarians, whom we vanquished, we should plunder the first Greek City we arrive at. For my Part, I wish, before I see you guilty of such Things, I may be buried ten thousand Fathom deep: And would advise you, as you are Greeks, to endeavour, by your Obedience to the Masters of Greece, to obtain Justice. But, if your Endeavours should prove ineffectual, we ought not, however, though wronged, to deprive ourselves of all possibility of returning Home. My Opinion therefore now is, that we should send some Persons to Anaxibius, to acquaint him, that we did not come*
into

into the Town with a Design to commit Violence, but, if possible, to obtain Favour; and, if we fail in this, to let him see that we are ready to leave it again, not because we are imposed upon, but because we are willing to obey.

THIS was resolved upon: So they sent Hieronymus of Elis, Eurylochus of Arcadia, and Philesius of Achaia to him, with these Instructions. While the Soldiers were yet assembled, Cyratades, a Theban, came to them. This Man was not banished from Greece, but wandered about, from an Ambition to command Armies, offering himself to any City, or Nation, that had Occasion for a General. He told them, he was ready to conduct them to that Part of Thrace, called the ^h Delta, where they should make their Fortunes, and that, 'till they arrived there, he would supply them with Meat, and Drink in Plenty. While he was saying this, the Soldiers received an Answer from Anaxibius, who assured them they should have

^h Τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον τῆς Θράκης. Besides the Egyptian Delta, other Places were, from their triangular Figure, called by that Name by the Ancients, for Strabo mentions an Island, called Pattalene, lying at the Mouth of the Indus, which, he says, Onesicritus calls by the Name of Delta.

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no Cause to repent of obeying him; that he would give an Account of this to the Magistrates of *Sparta*, and would, himself, consider in what he could be of most Service to them. Upon this, they accepted *Cyratades* for their General, and went out of the Town: And *Cyratades* appointed to come the next Day to the Army, with Victims, and a Priest, and also Meat, and Drink for the Men. As soon as they were out of the Town, *Anaxibius* caused the Gates to be shut, and public Notice to be given, that, if any of the Soldiers were found within the Walls, they should be sold for Slaves. The next Day, *Cyratades* came to the Army with the Victims, and the Priest: He was followed by twenty Men, loaded with Barley-Meal, and as many, with Wine; three more brought as many Olives, another, as much Garlick, and a third, as many Onions as he could carry; and, having ordered these Things to be set down, as if he intended to divide them among the Troops, he offered Sacrifice.

HERE *Xenophon* sent for *Cleander*, and de-

¹ Ως ἐπὶ Δάσμευσιν. Δάσμευσις, Διδίχσις. *Hesychius*.

desired him to procure Liberty for him to go into the Town, and embark at *Byzantium*. When *Cleander* came, he said, it is with great Difficulty that I have prevailed; for *Anaxibius* says it is not proper that the Soldiers should be near the Town, and *Xenophon* within; the Inhabitants being engaged in Factions, and Animosities: However, he says, you may come in, if you propose to sail with him. Upon which, *Xenophon* took Leave of the Soldiers, and went into the Town with *Cleander*.

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THE Victims not being favourable to *Cyratades* the first Day he distributed nothing to the Soldiers. The next, both the Victims and *Cyratades* with a Garland upon his Head, preparing to offer Sacrifice, stood before the Altar, when *Timasion* the *Dardanian*, *Neon* the *Afinian*, and *Cleanor*, the *Orcbomenian*, came to *Cyratades*, and forbid him to offer Sacrifice, adding, that, unless he gave the Provisions to the Army he should not command it. Upon this, he ordered them to be distributed; but the Provisions falling considerably short of one Day's Subsistence

BOOK VII. { ance for every Man, he renounced the Generalship, and, taking the Victims, departed.

HEREUPON, *Neon* the *Afinian*, *Phryniscus* of *Achaia*, and *Timasion* of *Dardanus*, who staid with the Army, led them into some Villages of the *Thracians*, that lay near *Byzantium*, where they encamped. Here, the Generals disagreed, *Cleanor*, and *Phryniscus* being desirous to carry the Army to *Seuthes* (for he had gained them, by making a Present of a Horse, to one, and of a Woman, to the other) and *Neon*, to the *Cbersonesus*, upon this Presumption, that, if they came into the Dominions of the *Lacedæmonians*, he should have the sole Command. *Timasion* wanted to go back into *Asia*, expecting, by this Means, to return Home. The Soldiers were for this: But, much Time being spent in this Contest, many of the Soldiers sold their Arms in the Country, and sailed away, as they could; others gave them to the Country-People, and settled in the Cities, mingling with the Inhabitants. *Anaxibius* was pleased to hear the Army was disbanding, for he

con-

concluded this would be most acceptable BOOK
VII.
to *Pharnabafus*.

WHILE ^k *Anaxibius* was upon his Voyage from *Byzantium*, *Aristarchus* met him at *Cyzicus*. He was sent to fucceed *Cleander*, as Governor of *Byzantium*. He informed *Anaxibius* that *Polus* was upon the Point of coming into the *Hellefpont*, to fucceed him in the Command of the Fleet: And *Anaxibius* ordered *Aristarchus* to fell all the Soldiers of *Cyrus*, whom he found in *Byzantium*. As for *Cleander*, he had fold none of them, but, out of Compassion, took Care of thofe who were Sick, and obliged the Inhabitants to receive them into their Houfes: But, *Aristarchus*,

^k Αποπλείοντι δὲ Ἀναξίβιου ἐν Βυζαντίῳ συναντᾷ Ἀριστάρχῳ ἐν Κυζίκῳ. I was surprized to find *Hutchinson* tranſlate this Paſſage, *At Anaxibio è Byzantio ſolventi obviam venit apud Cyzicum Ariſtarchus*, and *Leunclavius*, *quum autem Byzantio ſolveret, obviam ei venit apud Cyzicum Ariſtarchus*: How could *Ariſtarchus* meet *Anaxibius* at *Cyzicus*, as the latter was weighing Anchor from *Byzantium*? They have tranſlated it, as if our Author had ſaid ἀναγομίνῳ δὲ Ἀναξίβιου. It is very plain the Senſe is, that *Ariſtarchus*, who was ſent to ſucceed *Cleander*, met *Anaxibius* at *Cyzicus*, which every Body knows is a City upon the *Propontis*, not far from the *Helleſpont*, through which *Anaxibius* was to ſail in his Return Home. It is with Pleaſure I do Juſtice to d' *Ablancourt*, upon this Oceaſion; he has ſaid very properly, *comme il fut parti de Byzance, & arrivé à Cyzique, il rencontra Ariſtarque.*

BOOK *starchus*, as soon as he arrived, sold no less
 VII. than four hundred of them. When *Anaxibius* came to ¹*Parium*, he sent to *Pharnabazus* in Pursuance of their Agreement; but he, finding that *Aristarchus* was going to *Byzantium*, in Quality of Governor, and that *Anaxibius* was no longer Admiral, neglected him, and made the same Terms with *Aristarchus* concerning the Army of *Cyrus*, that he had before made with *Anaxibius*.

UPON this, *Anaxibius*, calling *Xenophon* to him, desired, by all Means, that he would set sail for the Army immediately, and both keep them in a Body, and draw together as many as he could of those who were dispersed, then leading them to ^m*Perinthus*, transport them forthwith into *Asia*. He ordered, at the same Time, a Thirty-Oar Galley to attend him, and not only gave him a Letter, but sent

Strabo,
10 B.

¹ Παράλιος ἢ Πάριον. *Parium* was a Town upon the *Propontis* situated between *Cyzicus* and the *Hellepont*; it was built, according to *Strabo*, by the Inhabitants of the Island of *Paros*: the same Author adds, that in *Parium* there was an Altar, the Sides of which were 600 Feet in Length.

Pl. N. H. ^m Εὐ Περινθον. *Perinthus* was a City of *Thrace* in the Neighbourhood of *Byzantium*, it was otherwise called *Heraclea*; *Harduin* says it is now called *Pantiro*.

sent an Express with him, to let the *Perinthians* know that they were immediately to furnish *Xenophon* with Horses to carry him to the Army. *Xenophon* crossed the *Propontis*, and arrived at the Army. He was received by the Soldiers with great Joy, who followed him cheerfully, in Hopes of passing over from *Thrace* into *Asia*. BOOK
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"*SEUTHES*, hearing that *Xenophon* was returned, sent *Medosades* to him by Sea, to desire he would bring the Army to him, promising whatever he thought most effectual to persuade him. *Xenophon* answered that it was not possible for any Thing of this Kind to be done: Whereupon the other went away. When the *Greeks* came to *Perinthus*, *Neon* drew off his Forces, and encamped apart with about eight hundred Men; the rest remained together under the Walls of the Town.

AFTER this, *Xenophon* was employed in getting Ships to transport the Troops into *Asia*; when *Aristarchus* the Governor, arrived

^a Σεύθης. See note ^b, page 83, upon the sixth Book.

BOOK arriving from *Byzantium* with two Gal-
VII. leys, at the Desire of *Pharnabafus*, forbad
the Masters of the Ships to transport
them, and, going to the Army, com-
manded the Soldiers not to go over into
Asia. *Xenophon* told him that *Anaxibius*
had ordered it, and, fays he, *He fent me
hither for that Purpose*. Upon which *Ari-
ftarchus* replied, *Anaxibius is not Admiral,
and I am Governor here; and, if I take any
of you attempting to go over, I'll throw them
into the Sea*. Having faid this, he went
into the Town. The next Day, he fent
for the Generals, and Captains. And,
when they came near the Walls, *Xeno-
phon* had Notice given him, that, if he
went into the Town, he fhould be appre-
hended, and either fuffer fome Punish-
ment there, or be delivered even to *Phar-
nabafus*. When he heard this, he fent
them on before, faying, he had a Mind
to offer Sacrifice; and returning, he facri-
ficed in order to know whether the Gods
would allow him to endeavour to carry
the Army to *Seuthes*: For he faw, that it
was neither fafe to pafs over into *Asia*,
fince the Perfon, who would oppofe it,
had Galleys at his Command; neither
was

was he willing to shut himself up in the *Chersonesus*, and expose the Army to a general Scarcity, where, besides the Want of Provisions, they would be under a Necessity of obeying the Governor of the Place. BOOK VII.

WHILE *Xenophon* was thus employed, the Generals, and Captains came from *Aristarchus*, and brought Word that he had sent them away, for the present, but had ordered them to come back to him in the Evening. This made the Treachery still more manifest: *Xenophon* therefore, finding the Sacrifices promised Security both to himself, and the Army, in going to *Seuthes* took with him *Polycrates* the *Athenian*, one of the Captains, and, from each of the Generals, except *Neon*, a Person in whom they confided; and went, that Night, to the Army of *Seuthes*, which lay at the Distance of sixty Stadia. When they drew near to it, he found several Fires, but nobody near them, which made him at first, conclude that *Seuthes* had decamped; but, hearing a Noise, and the Men calling out to one another, he understood that *Seuthes* had, for

BOOK VII. for this Reason, ordered Fires to be made before his Night-Guards, that they, being in the Dark, might not be seen, neither might it be known where they were; while those, who approached the Camp, could not be concealed, but were discovered by the Light. Observing this, he sent the Interpreter, whom he happened to have with him, and ordered him to acquaint *Seuthes* that *Xenophon* was there, and desired a Conference with him. They asked whether it was *Xenophon* the *Athenian*, one of the Army; and, upon his saying it was he, they returned with great Alacrity, and, presently after, about two hundred Targeteers appeared, who conducted *Xenophon*, and his Company to *Seuthes*. They found him in a Castle very much upon his Guard, and, round the Castle, stood Horses ready bridled: For, living in continual Fear, he fed his Horses in the Day-Time, and stood upon his Guard all Night. It was reported that, formerly, ^p *Teres*, the Ancestor of this Man, having entered this Country with

• Εἰς τὴν αἰ. Τύχης, Πόλεως. *Hesychius.*

^p Τέρες ὁ πατὴρ ἀγένης. This *Teres* was the Father of *Sitalces*, who was Uncle to *Seuthes*; see note ^b, page 83, upon the sixth Book.

with a considerable Army, lost great Numbers of his Men, and was stripped of his Baggage by the Inhabitants: They are called *Thynians*, and, of all People, are said to be the most dangerous Enemies in the Night.

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WHEN they were near the Castle, *Seuthes* ordered *Xenophon* to come in with any two of his Company: As soon as they were entered, they first saluted each other, and, according to the *Thracian* Custom, drank to one another in Horns full of Wine, (*Medofades* being present, who was the Ambassador of *Seuthes* upon all Occasions) then *Xenophon* began to speak; *You sent Medofades to me, O Seuthes! first to Chalcedon, to desire I would co-operate with you in getting the Army transported out of Asia; and promised, if I effected it, to return the Obligation as Medofades informed me.* Having said this, he asked *Medofades* if it was true, who owned it. Then *Xenophon* went on, *After I arrived at the Army from Parium, Medofades came to me again, and assured me, if I brought the Army to you, that you would not only treat me as a Friend, and a Brother, in*

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A a

other

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other Respects, but that you would deliver up to me those maritime Towns, of which you are in Possession. After this, he again asked Medosades if he said so, who owned that also. Then said Xenophon, let Seuthes know the Answer I made to you at Chalcedon. You answered first that the Army had resolved to go over to Byzantium, and, therefore, there was no Reason to give any Thing, either to you, or to any other Person, upon that Account: You added that, as soon as you had crossed the Sea, you designed to leave the Army, which happened accordingly. What, says Xenophon, did I say when you came to ^a Selymbria? You said that what I proposed was impracticable, because the Army had determined to go to Perinthus, in order to pass over in Asia. Here I am then, said Xenophon, with Phryniscus, one of the Generals, and Polycrates, one of the Captains; and, without, are those who are most confided in by each of the Generals, except Neon, the Lacedæmonian: And, if you desire that our Stipulation should receive a greater Sanction, let them also be called in. Do you, therefore,

Poly-

Strabo,
7 B.

^a Εἰ Σηλυμβρία. Selymbria was a Town of Thrace upon the Propontis, near Perinthus. Strabo says that βεῖα, in the Thracian Language, signifies a Town. Leunclavius says it is now called, both by the Turks, and Greeks, Sihyrian.

Polycrates! go to them, and tell them, from me, that I desire they would leave their Arms without, and do you leave your Sword there also, and come in. BOOK
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SEUTHES, hearing this, said, he should distrust no *Athenian*; for he knew them to be related to him, and looked upon them, as his affectionate Friends. When all proper Persons were come in, first *Xenophon* asked *Seuthes* what Use he proposed to make of the Army? To this he answered: *Mæfades was my Father, under whose Government were the Malandepians, the Thynians, and the Thranipsians. My Father, being driven out of this Country,* when

Kai yap eri susymis ier idivas. *Hutchinson*, upon this Occasion, quotes a Passage out of the second Book of *Thucydides*, where that Author says that *Perdiccas* gave his Sister *Stratonice* in Marriage to *Seuthes*: I own, I do not understand how *Seuthes* could be said to be related to the *Athenians* by marrying a Daughter of a King of *Macedon*. We find in another Part of the second Book of *Thucydides*, that the *Athenians* entered into an Alliance with *Sitalces*, and made his Son *Sadocus* a Citizen of *Athens*, but this, I own, does not seem to support what *Seuthes* says of their Relation: It is certain that *Teres*, the Father to *Sitalces*, was not the Person, who married *Procne*, the Daughter of *Pandion*, the Son of *Erethens*, King of *Athens*, since *Thucydides* expressly tells us that the Name of the latter was *Tereus*, and that they were not of the same Part of *Thrace*; so that *Seuthes* could not ground his Relation to the *Athenians* upon the Marriage of *Tereus* with *Procne*.

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when the Affairs of the Odryians declined, died of Sickness, and I, being then an Orphan, was brought up at the Court of Medocus, the present King. When I grew up, I could not bear to subsist upon another Man's Liberality. As I was sitting, therefore, by him, I begged of him to give me as many Troops as he could spare, that, if possible, I might take Revenge on those who had expelled our Family, and be no longer, like a Dog, supported at his Table. Upon this, he gave me those Forces both of Horse, and of Foot, which you shall see, as soon as it is Day; and I now subsist by plundering my paternal Country with these Troops: To which if you join your Forces, I have Reason to believe, that, with the Assistance of the Gods, I shall easily recover my Kingdom. This is what I desire at your Hands.

LET us know then, says Xenophon, what you have in your Power to give to the Army, the Captains, and the Generals, if we come; to the End that these may make their Report. He promised to every common Soldier a Cyzicene, two to the Captains, and four to the Generals; with as much Land, as they desired, besides Yokes of Oxen, and

a walled Town near the Sea. If, says **BOOK**
Xenophon, I endeavour to effect what you **VII.**
desire, but am prevented by the Fear that may
be entertained of the Lacedæmonians, will
you receive into your Country any, who shall
be desirous to come to you? He answered,
Not only that, but I will treat them like
Brothers, give them a Place at my Table,
and make them Partakers of every Thing we
shall conquer: To you, Xenophon! I will
give my Daughter, and if you have one, I
will buy her, according to the Thracian
Custom, and give you Bisanthe, for your
Habitation, which is the handsomest Town,
belonging to me near the Sea.

AFTER they heard this, they exchanged
 Hands, and went away; and arriving
 at the Camp before Day, each of them
 made his Report to those who sent them.
 As soon as it was light, *Aristarchus* sent
 again for the Generals, and Captains to
 come to him, but they declined it, and
 determined, instead of going to *Aristar-*
chus, to call the Army together: And all
 the Soldiers assembled, besides those be-
 longing to *Neon*; who encamped at the
 Distance of about ten Stadia from the
 rest.

BOOK rest. When they were assembled, Xeno-
VII. phon rose up, and spoke as follows :

GENTLEMEN! Aristarchus, with his Gallies, binders us from sailing to the Place we proposed: So that it is not safe for us to embark. He would have us force our Way, over the holy Mountain, into the Chersonesus: If we gain that Pass, and arrive there, he says he will neither sell any more of you, as he did in Byzantium, nor deceive you any longer; but that you will then be the better intitled to receive Pay. He promises also that he will no longer suffer us, as he does now, to want Provisions. Thus Aristarchus says. On the other Side, Seuthes engages that, if you go to him, you shall find your Account in it. Consider, therefore, whether you will deliberate upon this Matter, while you stay here, or after you are returned to the Place, where you may supply yourselves with Provisions. My Opinion is, since we have neither Money to purchase what we want, nor are suffered to supply ourselves without it, that we return to the Villages, where the Inhabitants, being weaker than we are, do not oppose it, and where, after we are supplied with what is necessary, and have heard in what

what Service each of them propose to employ us, we may chuse that Measure, which shall appear most to our Advantage. Whoever, therefore, is of this Opinion, let him hold up his Hand. And they all held up their Hands. Go then, continued he, and get your Baggage ready, and, when the Order is given, follow your Leader.

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AFTER this, *Xenophon* put himself at their Head, and they followed him. But *Neon*, together with some other Persons sent by *Aristarchus*, would have persuaded them to turn back: However, they regarded them not. When they had marched about thirty Stadia, *Seuthes* met them. As soon as *Xenophon* saw him, he desired he would draw near, that as many of the Army, as possible, might hear what he had to propose for their Advantage. When he came up, *Xenophon* said; *We are marching to some Place, where the Army may find Provisions, and where, after we have heard what you, and the Lacedæmonians have to propose to us, we shall be determined by that, which appears most to our Advantage. If, therefore, you will conduct us to some Place, where there is great Abundance,*

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dance, we shall look upon ourselves under the same Obligation to you, as if you entertained us yourself. Seuthes answered, I know where there are many Villages that lie together, and are well supplied with all Sorts of Provisions; they are so near, that you may march thither, with Ease, before Dinner. Lead the Way therefore, said Xenophon. The Army being arrived in the Villages in the Afternoon, the Soldiers assembled, and Seuthes spoke to them in the following Manner; Gentlemen! I desire you will assist me with your Arms; and I promise to each of you a Cizycene, for your monthly Pay, and to the Captains, and Generals, what is customary. Besides this, I will do Honour to every Man, who shall deserve it. As to Meat and Drink, you shall supply yourselves with both, as you do now, out of the Country. But, I must insist upon retaining the Booty, that, by selling it, I may provide for your Pay. We ourselves shall be sufficient to pursue, and discover those of the Enemy, who fly, and seek to conceal themselves, and, with your Assistance, we will endeavour to overcome those who resist. Xenophon then asked him how far from the

* Επει δὲ ἐφίχοντο εἰς αὐτὰς τῆς δίδας. See note 2, page 84, upon the first Book.

* Κολιχηνόν. See note 1, page 22, upon the first Book.

the Sea he proposed the Army should follow him? He answered, never more than seven Days March, and often less.

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AFTER that, every Man, who desired to offer any Thing, had Liberty to speak, and several of them agreed that the Proposals of *Seuthes* were very advantageous; for, it being now Winter, it was neither possible for those who desired it, to sail home, not for the Army to subsist in the Territories of their Friends, if they were to pay for every Thing they had. They considered also that it would be safer for them to remain, and find Subsistence, in an Enemy's Country, jointly with *Seuthes*, than by themselves; and that, if, while they were in Possession of so many Advantages, they also received Pay, it would be a Piece of good Fortune they had no Reason to expect. Then *Xenophon* said; *If any one has any Thing to say against this, let him speak, if not, let him give his Vote*
for

Ἔπιψηφίζισθαι ταῦτα. I have followed the Manuscript quoted by *Hutchinson*, rather than his Conjecture, though I think ἐπιψηφίζεσθαι, in him, is much better than ἐπιψηφίζετῃ in *Leunclavius*; but ἐπιψηφίζισθαι seems to me to answer better to λέγειν, that immediately precedes it.

BOOK *for it*; and, there being no Opposition,
VII. they gave their Votes for it, and it was
resolved accordingly; and *Xenophon* immediately told *Seuthes*, they would enter into his Service.

AFTER that, the Soldiers encamped in their Ranks; while the Generals, and Captains were invited by *Seuthes* to sup with him at his Quarters in a neighbouring Village. When they came to the Door, one *Heraclides* of *Maronea* addressed himself to those he thought in a Capacity of making Presents to *Seuthes*, and first to some *Parian* Deputies, who were there, being sent to establish a Friendship with *Medocus*, King of the *Odrysians*, and had brought Presents both for him, and his Queen: To these he said, that *Medocus* lived up in the Country, twelve Days Journey from the Sea; and that *Seuthes*, now he had taken this Army into his Service, would be Master of the Sea-Coast: *Being therefore your Neighbour*, says he, *it will be very much in his Power to do you both Good, and Harm: So that if you are wise, you will make a Present to him of what you have brought, which will be laid*
out

out much more to your Advantage, than if Book
VII.
you give it to Medocus, who lives at so great
a Distance from you: By this Means he

prevailed upon them. Afterwards, he came to *Timafion* of *Dardanus*, hearing he had Cups, and * *Persian* Carpets, and told him it was the Custom for those, who were invited to Supper by *Seuthes*, to make him Presents; adding, that, if he becomes considerable in this Country, he will be able both to restore you to yours, and to enrich you, when you are there. In this Manner he ' procured for *Seuthes*, addressing himself to each of them. When he came to *Xenophon*, he said, *You are not only of the most considerable City, but are, yourself, in the greatest Reputation with Seuthes, and may, possibly desire to be Master of some Place of Strength with Lands, in these Parts, as others of your Countrymen are: It is therefore worth your while to*
honour

* *Τάπιδας Βαρβαρικές.* *Persian* Carpets have always been famous for their Beauty, for which Reason, and because these Carpets were Part of the Spoils taken by the *Greeks* from the *Persians*, I have ventured to call them *Persian* Carpets, rather than *Barbaric* after *Milton*,

*Where the gorgeous East, with richest Hand,
Show'rs on her Kings barbaric Pearl, and Gold.*

*Paradise
Lost, 2 B.*

† *Τοιαῦτα προμνήτο. Προμνήμενοι, προμνήστεινόμενοι.*
Hesychius. *D'Ablancourt* has left it out.

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VII.

honour Seuthes in the most magnificent Manner. I give you this Advice, because I wish you well; for I am satisfied the more your Presents exceed those of your Companions, the more the Advantages you will receive from Seuthes, will exceed theirs. When Xenophon heard this, he was in great Perplexity; for he had brought with him, from Parium, only one Servant, and just Money enough for his Journey.

THEN the most considerable of the *Thracians*, who were present, together with the *Greek* Generals, and Captains, and all the Deputies of Towns, who were there, went in to Supper; at which they placed themselves in a Ring. After that, every one of the Guests had a Tripod brought him: These were about twenty in Number, full of Meat cut in Pieces, and large leavened Loaves were skewered to the Meat. The ² Dishes were always

Julius
Pollux,
6 B.
Segm. 84.
Athenæus
11.

² Μάλιστα δὲ αἱ τραπέζαι κατὰ τῆς ξύτης αἰὲν ἐτίθεντο. *Leunclavius*, and *Hutchinson* have very properly, I think, rendered τραπέζαι in this Place, *Fercula*; to support which, they quote a Passage out of *Julius Pollux*, where he says that τραπέζαι were also called the *Viſuals*, that were placed upon the Tables. There is a Passage in *Athenæus*, by which it appears the Word was understood in that Sense by every Body πάντων τραπέζας καλόντων τὰς

always placed before the Strangers pre-ferably to the rest of the Company; for that was their Custom. *Seuthes* then set the Example of what follows; he took the Loaves that lay before him, and, breaking them into small Pieces, threw them about to those he thought proper: He did the same by the Meat, leaving no more for himself than what served for a Taste. The Rest, before whom the Meat was served, did the same Thing. There was an *Arcadian* in Company, whose Name was *Aristus*, a great Eater: This Man, instead of employing his Time in throwing about the Victuals, took a Loaf of three ^a Chœnixes in his Hand, and, laying some Meat upon his Knees, eat his Supper. In the mean Time, they carried about Horns of Wine, and every body took one: When the Cup-bearer brought the Horn to *Aristus*, he, seeing *Xenophon* had done Supper, said, *Go, give it to him, he is at Leisure; I am not so yet.* When *Seuthes* heard him speak, he asked the

τὰς παραθέσεις ταύτας. From hence I imagine the *Latins* *Cicero* *Ep.* took their *secunda mensa*, & *altera mensæ*, for their *second* *Horace*, *Course*.

4B. Od. 5.

^a Τεχνόωνικον ἄετον. See note °, page 58, upon the first Book.

BOOK the Cup-bearer what he said, who told
 VII. him; for he could speak *Greek*: Upon
 this, there was great laughing.

THE^b Cup going round, a *Thracian* entered, leading in a white Horse, and, taking a Horn full of Wine, *Seuthes*! says he, *I drink to you, and make you a Present of this Horse, with which you may take any one you pursue, and, in a Retreat, you will have no Reason to fear the Enemy.* Another brought a Boy, which he, in the same Manner, presented, drinking to him, and another, Clothes, for his Wife. *Timasion*, drinking to him, made him a Present of a silver Cup, and a Carpet worth ten^c Mines. Then one *Gnesippus*, an *Athenian*, rose up, and said, *There was a very good old Custom, which ordains that those, who have any Thing, shall make Presents to the King, to shew their Respect; but that the Kings shall make Presents to those, who have nothing. Let this Custom be observed, says he, that I also may have something to present you with, and shew my Respect.*

^b Ἐπεὶ δὲ περὶχώρει ὁ πότης. Ποτὸς μὲν τὸ πινόμενον, πότης δὲ τὸ συμπόσιον. *Suidas.*

^c Ἀξίαν δέκα μνῶν. See note ^m, page 9, upon the first Book.

spect. Xenophon was at a loss what to do; for he had the Honour done him to be placed next to Seuthes: And Heraclides had ordered the Cup-bearer to give him the Horn. However, he stood up boldly (for by this Time he had drank^d more than usual) and, taking the Horn, said, O Seuthes! I present you both with myself, and with these my Companions, as your faithful Friends: I am confident none of them will refuse the Condition, but all contend with me in their Zeal for your Service. Here they now are, with a View of asking no other Favour^e of you, but to undertake Labours, and Dangers for your Sake. By whose Assistance, if the Gods are favourable, you may become Master of a large Tract of Country, by recovering that Part of it, which belonged to your paternal Kingdom, and conquering the Rest: By their Assistance also, you will make yourself Master of many Horses, and of many Men and beautiful Women, whom you need not take away by Force; on the contrary, they will come, and offer themselves to you with Presents in their Hands. Upon this, Seuthes got up, and pledged Xenophon, pour-

ing

^d ὑποπιπῶν. Ἀντὶ τῷ μεθύσκειν. Suidas.

^e Προσέμενοι. Προσίσται, ἀρέσκονται, προσδέχεται, ἡδυνάμενοι. Hesychius.

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ing ^f what remained in the Horn upon the Person who sat next to him. After this, some *Cerasuntæans* came in: These founded a Charge with Pipes, and Trumpets made of raw Hides, keeping Time, as if they played upon the ^g Magade. Upon this, *Seuthes* himself got up, and shouted in a warlike Manner, then with great Agility, sprung out of the Place where he stood, imitating a Man, who avoids a Dart. There came in also Buffoons.

WHEN it was about Sunfet, the *Greeks* rose up, and said it was Time to place the Guards for the Night, and give the Word. At the same Time, they desired *Seuthes* to give Orders that none of the *Thracians* might come into the *Greek* Camp in the Night; for, said they, some
of

^f Συγκρατισκιδασσι. *Suidas*, upon the Word κατασκι-
δάζω, says it was a Custom among the *Thracians*, when
they had drunk as much Wine as they could, to pour
the rest upon the Clothes of the Company, for which he
quotes *Plato*; this, he says, they called κατασκιδάζω.
It was necessary just to take Notice of this ridiculous
Custom, in Order to explain this Passage of *Xenophon*.

Athenæus
4 B.
Strabo,
10 B.

^g Οιον μαγάδι. This musical Instrument is said to have
been a Kind of Flute. *Strabo* reckons it among those,
whose Names were taken from the *Barbarians*. It was
probably an Instrument of War.

of that Nation are our Enemies, though you are our Friends. As they went out Seuthes got up, shewing no Signs of being drunk, and going out also, he called the Generals to him, and said; Gentlemen! the Enemy, as yet, knows nothing of our Alliance; if, therefore, we fall upon them, before they are, either upon their Guard against a Surprise, or prepared for their Defence, it will be the most effectual Means of gaining great Booty, and taking many Prisoners. The Generals were of the same Opinion, and desired him to lead them. Then Seuthes said, Do you make yourselves ready, and stay for me, and, when it is Time, I will come back to you; and, taking the Targeteers and you with me, with the Assistance of the Gods, I will lead you against the Enemy. Upon this, Xenophon said, Consider then, since we are to march by Night, whether the Greek Custom is not preferable. In the Day-Time, either the heavy-armed Men, or the Horse march in the Van, according to the Nature of the Ground; but, in the Night, it is always the Custom, among the Greeks, for the slowest Corps to lead the Way. By this Means, the Army is less subject to be separated, and the Men have fewer Opportunities of straggling

BOOK
VII.

without being taken Notice of; it often happening, in the Night, that the Troops, when separated, fall upon one another, and, not being able to distinguish Friends, from Enemies, both do, and suffer great Damage. Seuthes answered, You say well, and I will conform to your Custom; and will take Care you shall have Guides, such as, among the Oldest of my People, are best acquainted with the Country; while I bring up the Rear with the Horse: And if there is Occasion, I can soon come up to the Front. The Athenians gave the Word by Reason of their Alliance to Seuthes. After this, they went to Rest.

WHEN it was about Mid-night, *Seuthes* came to them with the Horse clad in their Coats of Mail, and the Targeteers with their Arms. After he had delivered the Guides to them, the heavy-armed Men marched in the Van, the Targeteers followed, and the Horse brought up the Rear. As soon as it was Day, *Seuthes*, riding up to the Front, extolled the Greek Custom: *For it has often happened to me, says he, when I have been upon a March in the Night, though with a few Troops, to have my Horse separated from the Foot; whereas*
now,

now, at Break of Day we appear, as we ought, all together. But do you halt here, and repose yourselves, and when I have taken a View of the Country, I will come back to you. Having said this, he met with a Path, which led him to the Top of a Mountain, where, coming to a great deal of Snow, he examined the Road, to see whether there were any Foot-steps of Men, pointing either forward, or backward: And finding the Way untrodden, he returned presently, and said, Gentlemen! our Design will succeed, God willing: We shall surprise the People: But I will lead the Way with the Horse, that, if we discover any one, he may not escape, and give Notice to the Enemy: Do you come after; and, if you are left behind, follow the Track of the Horse. After we have passed these Mountains, we shall come to a great many rich Villages.

WHEN it was Noon, Seuthes, having reached the Summit of the Mountains, and taken a View of the Villages, rode back to the heavy-armed Men, and said, *I now propose to send the Horse to scour the Plain, and the Targeteers to attack the Vil-*
C c 2
lages:

BOOK *lages: Do you follow as fast as you can, that,*
 VII. *if they find any Resistance, you may support*
them. When Xenophon heard this, he a-
lighted from his Horse: Upon which
Seuthes said, Why do you alight, when Expe-
dition is required? The other answered,
I know that, by myself, I can be of no Ser-
vice, besides, the heavy-armed Men, will
march with greater Speed, and Alacrity, if I
lead them on Foot.

AFTER this, Seuthes, and, with him, Timasion, with about forty of the Greek Horse, went away. Then Xenophon ordered those of each Company, who were under thirty Years of Age, and prepared for Expedition, to advance; and, with these, he ran forward; while Cleanor brought up the Rest of the Greeks. When they were in the Villages, Seuthes, riding up to Xenophon with about fifty Horse, said, *What you foretold, has happened: The Men are taken; but our Horse have left me, and are gone away without a Commander, some following the Pursuit one Way, some another; and I am afraid the Enemy should rally, and do us some Mischief: Some of us must also remain in the Villages, for they are*
full

full of Men. Xenophon answered, With the BOOK
Troops I have, I will possess myself of the VII.
Eminences. Do you order Cleanor to extend
his Line, in the Plain, against the Villages.
After they had put these things in Execution, they got together about one thousand Slaves, two thousand Oxen, and ten thousand Head of other Cattle: And there they quartered that Night.

THE next Day, after *Seuthes* had burned all the Villages, without leaving a single House (in order to terrify the Rest by letting them see what they were to expect, if they refused to submit) he returned; and sent the Booty to *Perintheus* to be sold by *Heraclides*, that he might, by that Means, raise Money to pay the Soldiers. In the mean Time *Seuthes*, and the *Greeks* encamped in the Plain of the *Thynians*; but the Inhabitants left their Houses, and fled to the Mountains.

HERE fell a great Snow, and the Cold was so severe, that the Water the Servants brought in for Supper, and the Wine in the Vessels, were frozen, and the Noses, and Ears of many of the
Greeks

BOOK VII. *Greeks* were parched with the Cold. This explained to us the Reason, that induces the *Thracians* to wear ^h Foxes Skins over their Heads and Ears, and Vests, that not only cover their Breasts, but their Thighs also,

Herodot. in Polymnia. *Ἡρόδοτος* ἡ ἀλωπεκίδας ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φορεῖσι καὶ τοῖς ὤσι. After *Xerxes* had passed the *Hellepont* with his prodigious Army, he reviewed them in the Plain of *Doriscus*; among his Troops were *Thracians*, who, according to *Herodotus*, wore Foxes Skins upon their Heads, and whose Dress he describes not unlike that of the *Thracians*, with whom *Xenophon* was acquainted: Whether these *Thracians* wore Foxes Skins upon their Heads to preserve them from the Cold, as our Author seems to think, or whether they wore them by way of Armour, and as a Distinction in War, I shall not determine; but we find that many Nations, inhabiting the warmest Climates, wore the Skins of several Beasts upon their Heads, when they went to War; upon those Occasions, the upper Jaw, or Forehead of the Animal was fixed to the Top of their Heads, I suppose, to give them a fierce Look: *Herodotus* tells us, that, in the same Army, the *Indians*, whom he calls the *Asiatic Ethiopians*, οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Αἰθίοπες, wore, upon their Heads, the Skins of Horses Heads, with the Mane flowing, and the Ears erect. I cannot help mentioning, upon this Occasion, a Passage of *Diodorus Siculus*, because it shews the Origin of a very great Folly committed by a very wise People, I mean the Worship of *Anubis* by the *Egyptians*; he tells us that *Anubis*, and *Macedon*, two Sons of *Osiris*, attended him in his Expedition to the *Indies*, and that their Armour was taken from Animals, that bore some Resemblance to their Fortitude, *Anubis* wearing the Skin of a Dog, and *Macedon* that of a Wolf; for which Reason, he says, these Animals were worshipped by the *Egyptians*. The *Roman Signiferi*, upon *Trajan's* Pillar, have most of them their Heads, and Shoulders covered with the Skins of Lions, something like *Aventinus* in *Virgil*,

Virgil,
7 B.

*Ipse pedes tegmen torquens immane leonis
Terribili impexum setâ cum dentibus albis
Indutus capiti* —————

also, with Cassocks reaching down to their Feet, when they ride, instead of Cloaks. *Seuthes* sent some of the Prisoners to the Mountains, to acquaint the Inhabitants that, if they did not come down, and, returning to their Habitations, submit to him, he would burn their Villages also, together with their Corn, and then they must perish with Hunger. Upon this, the Women, and Children, with the old Men, came down, but the younger Sort encamped in the Villages under the Mountain: Which when *Seuthes* observed, he desired *Xenophon* to take with him the youngest of the heavy-armed Men, and follow him; and, leaving their Camp in the Night, they arrived by Break of Day at the Villages: But the greatest Part of the Inhabitants quitted them; for the Mountain was near. However, *Seuthes* ordered all they took to be pierced with Darts.

THERE was present an *Olynthian*, his Name *Episthenes*, who was a Lover of Boys: This Man, seeing a handsome Boy just in his Bloom, with a Buckler in his Hand, going to be put to Death, ran to

Xeno-

BOOK VII. *Xenophon*, and begged of him to intercede for so beautiful a Youth. Upon this, *Xenophon* went to *Seuthes*, and desired he would not put the Boy to Death, acquainting him, at the same Time, with the Character of *Episthenes*, and that he once raised a Company, in which he considered nothing but the Beauty of his Men; at the Head of whom he always behaved himself with Bravery. Hereupon, *Seuthes* said, O *Episthenes*! *are you willing to die for this Boy?* The other, stretching out his Neck, answered, *Strike, if the Boy commands; and will think himself obliged to me.* *Seuthes* then asked the Boy whether he should strike *Episthenes*, instead of him. This the Boy would not suffer, but begged he would kill neither. Upon this, *Episthenes*, embracing the Boy, said, *Now Seuthes! you must contend with me for him; for I will not part with the Boy.* This made *Seuthes* laugh; who, leaving this Subject, thought proper they should encamp where they were, to the End the People, who had fled to the Mountains, might not be subsisted out of these Villages. So he, descending a little Way into the Plain, encamped there;
o and

and *Xenophon*, with the chosen Men, quartered in the Village, that lay nearest the Foot of the Hill, and the rest of the *Greeks*, not far from him, among those they call the Mountain *Thracians*. BOOK
VII.

A few Days after, the *Thracians*, coming down from the Mountains to *Seuthes*, treated concerning Hostages, and a Peace. Hereupon, *Xenophon* went to him, and let him know that the Post they were in, was very disadvantageous, that the Enemy was not far off, and that he had rather encamp abroad in any other Place, than in a Strait, where they were in Danger of being destroyed: But *Seuthes* bid him fear nothing, and shewed him their Hostages, then in his Custody. Some of the *Thracians*, coming down from the Mountain, besought *Xenophon* also to assist them in obtaining a Peace. He promised his Assistance, and encouraged them with this Assurance, that, if they submitted to *Seuthes*, they had nothing to fear. But they, it seems, were Spies sent to amuse them with these Proposals.

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VII.

THIS passed in the Day-Time: The following Night, the *Thynians* came down from the Mountain, and attacked them: Their Leaders were the Masters of every House, it being difficult for any other to find the Houses in the dark; because they were surrounded with great Palisades to secure the Cattle. When they came to the Door of each Habitation, some threw in Darts, others Clubs, which they carried, with a Design, as they said of breaking off the Points of the Pikes; and some were employed in setting Fire to the Houses: These called out to *Xenophon* by Name, to come out and meet his Fate, threatening, if he refused, to burn him in the House.

By this Time, the Fire came through the Roof; and *Xenophon* and his Men were within, with their Corsets on, their Shields, and Swords in their Hands, and their Helmets upon their Heads: When *Silantus Macestius*, a Youth of eighteen Years of Age, gave the Signal by sounding a Trumpet: Upon which, the Rest also, at once, rushed out of the other Houses with their Swords drawn. Whereupon,

upon, the *Thracians* fled, covering their BOOK
Backs with their Bucklers, according to VII.
their Custom; and some of them, endeavouring to leap over the Palisades, were taken hanging on them, their Bucklers being set fast; others, missing the Way out, were killed; and the *Greeks* pursued them out of the Village. However, a Party of the *Thynians* coming back in the Dark, threw Darts at some of the *Greeks*, as they ran by a House that was on Fire, taking their Aim from an obscure Place at those who were in the Light, and wounded *Hieronymus*, *Enodias*, and *Theagenes*, a *Locrian*, all Captains; but nobody was killed, though some had their Clothes, and Baggage burned. *Seuthes* came to their Relief with seven Horse, the first he met, bringing with him a *Thracian* Trumpeter, who, from the Time the other found they were attacked, and set out to relieve them, continued sounding till the Action was over; which did not a little contribute to terrify the Enemy: When he came, he embraced the *Greeks*, saying, he expected to find a great Number of them slain.

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VII.

AFTER this, *Xenophon* desired *Seuthes* to deliver to him the Hostages, and march up to the Mountain with him, if he thought proper: If not, that he would leave it to his Conduct. The next Day, therefore, *Seuthes* delivered to him the Hostages, who were elderly Men, the most considerable, as they said, of the Mountain *Thracians*, and he himself set out with his own Forces. By this Time, the Army of *Seuthes* was encreased to three Times the Number it before consisted of; for many of the *Odrysians*, being informed of what *Seuthes* was doing, came down to his Assistance. When the *Thynians* saw, from the Mountain, great Numbers of heavy-armed Men, of Targeteers, and of Horse, they came down, and sued for Peace; promising to do every Thing that was required of them, and desired *Seuthes* would take Pledges for their Fidelity. He, calling *Xenophon* to him, informed him of what they said, letting him know, at the same Time, that he would not make Peace, if he desired to take Revenge of them for attacking him. *Xenophon* answered, that he was sufficiently revenged, if these People were,

instead of Free-men to become Slaves: BOOK
But, withal, advised him, for the future, VII.
to take, for Hostages, those who had
most Power to do him Harm, and to let
the old Men stay at home. All the
Thracians, therefore, in this Part of the
Country, submitted to *Seuthes*.

THEY next marched into the Country,
called the *Delta*, belonging to the *Thra-*
cians, who lie above *Byzantium*. This
Country did not belong to the Kingdom
of *Mæfades*, but to that of *Teres*, the
Odrysian, one of their ancient Kings:
Here they found *Heraclides*, with the
Money he had raised by the Sale of the
Booty. And here *Seuthes*, having ordered
three Yokes of Mules (for there were no
more) and several of Oxen to be brought
out, sent for *Xenophon*, and desired he
would accept the first, and distribute the
rest among the Generals, and Captains;
but *Xenophon* said, *I shall be satisfied, if I,*
receiving your Favours another Time, give
these to the Generals, and the Captains, who,
with me, have attended you in this Expedi-
tion. Upon which, *Timasion*, the *Darda-*
nian, received one Yoke of Mules, *Cleanor*,
the

BOOK the *Orcbomenian*, another, and *Pbryniscus*,
 VII. the *Achaian*, the third. The Yokes of
 Oxen he distributed among the Captains;
 but gave the Army no more than twenty
 Days Pay, though the Month was expired:
 For *Heraclides* said he could not sell
 the Booty for more. *Xenophon* was concerned
 at this, and said, O *Heraclides*! you do not
 seem to have so great a Regard for *Seuthes*,
 as you ought to have: If you had, you
 would have brought the Army their full
 Pay; though you had taken up at Interest,
 and even sold your own Clothes to raise
 as much as would have compleated it, if
 you could not get the Money by any other
 Means.

THIS Reproach gave *Heraclides* great
 Uneasiness, and made him apprehend he
 should lose the Favour of *Seuthes*; and,
 from that Day, he laboured all he could
 to give *Seuthes* ill Impressions of *Xenophon*;
 on whom not only the Soldiers laid the
 Blame of their not receiving their Pay,
 but *Seuthes* also resented his Earnestness
 in demanding it. And whereas, before,
 he was, for ever, telling him that, when
 he arrived at the Sea, he would put
 him

him in Possession of *Bisantbe*, *Ganus*, and *Neon Teichus*; from this Time, he never mentioned any Thing of that Kind: For *Heracrides*, upon this Occasion, had also Recourse to Calumny, suggesting that it was not safe to intrust Places of Strength with a Person who was at the Head of an Army.

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UPON this, *Xenophon* considered with himself what was to be done^{*} about pursuing their Expedition against the upper *Thracians*; when *Heracrides*, carrying the rest of the Generals to *Seuthes*, desired them to assure him that they could lead the Army, as well as *Xenophon*, and promised that, in a few Days, he would give them their Pay compleat for two Months, advising them, at the same Time, to continue in the Service of *Seuthes*. Upon which,

[†] Βισάνθου, καὶ Γάνου καὶ Νέον Τείχος. Towns of *Thrace* near the Sea; if the Reader pleases to turn to the first Note upon this Book, he will find that the last has nothing to do with the Wall built by *Dercyllidas*, for that was not built 'till the year after *Xenophon* engaged the *Greeks* in the Service of *Seuthes*.

^{*} Περὶ τοῦ ἴτι ἀνω στρατεύεσθαι. *D'Ablancourt* understands this concerning his going over into *Asia*; but I have chosen rather to make it relate to the Expedition of *Seuthes*, and the *Greeks*, against those *Thracians*, who inhabited above *Byzantium*; in which I am supported by *Leunclavius*, and *Hutchinson*.

BOOK VII. which, *Timasion* said, *If you would give me five Months Pay, I would not serve without Xenophon; and Phryniscus and Cleanor* said the same Thing.

THIS made *Seuthes* chide *Heracrides* for not calling in *Xenophon*; So they sent for him alone; but, he being sensible this was an Artifice in *Heracrides*, contrived to create a Jealousy in the rest of the Generals, took not only all the Generals, but likewise all the Captains along with him: And, all of them approving of what *Seuthes* proposed, they pursued their Expedition, and, marching through the Country of the *Thracians*, called the *Melinophagi*, with the *Euxine* Sea on their right Hand, they arrived at ¹ *Salmydessus*. Here many Ships, upon their Arrival in the *Euxine* Sea, strike, and are driven ashore, the Coast being full of Shoals, that run a considerable Way into the Sea. The *Thracians*, who inhabit their Coast, raise Pillars, in the Nature of Bound Stones, and every Man plunders the Wreck, that is

Arrian ¹ Σαλμυδησσόν. *Salmydessus* was a Sea-Port lying upon the *Euxine* Sea, it is mentioned by *Arrian* in his *Periplus*; of the *Euxine* the River, the Town, and the Bay had all the same Name.

is cast upon his own Coast. It is said BOOK
VII. that, before they erected these Pillars, many of them lost their Lives by quarrelling with one another about the Plunder. In this Place are found many Beds, Boxes, Books, and several other Things, which Sailors usually carry in their Chests. The Army, after they had subdued this People, marched back: That of *Seuthes* was now grown superior in Number to the *Greeks*; for many more of the *Odrysians* were come down to him, and the *Thracians*, as fast as they submitted, joined the Army. They now lay encamped in a Plain above *Selymbria*, about fifty Stadia from the Sea: As yet no Pay appeared, and not only the Soldiers were displeased at *Xenophon*; but *Seuthes* himself was no longer disposed in his Favour; and whenever he desired to be admitted to him, Business of many Kinds was pretended.

Two Months were now very near elapsed, when *Charminus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Polynicus* arrived from *Thimbron*. They gave an Account that the *Lacedæmonians* had resolved to make War upon

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Tissaphernes, and that *Thimbron* was sailed from *Greece* with that Design. They added that he had Occasion for this Army, and that every common Soldier should have a ^m Darick a Month, the Captains two, and the Generals four. Upon the Arrival of the *Lacedæmonians*, *Heracrides*, hearing they were come for the Army, immediately told *Seuthes* it was a happy Incident; For, says he, the *Lacedæmonians* are in Want of the Army, and you are not so. In resigning it, you will confer an Obligation on them, and the Soldiers will no longer ask you for their Pay; but will leave the Country.

SEUTHES hearing this, ordered the *Lacedæmonians* to be brought in: And, upon their saying they came for the Army, he told them he was willing to resign it, and desired they would account him their Friend, and Ally: he also invited them to his Table pursuant to the Laws of Hospitality, and gave them a magnificent Entertainment. But he did not invite *Xenophon*, or any one of the other Generals. The *Lacedæmonians* enquiring

^m Δαγνίς. See note ^m, page 9, upon the first Book.

quiring what kind of Man *Xenophon* was, he answered that he was, in other respects, no ill Man, but a Friend to the Soldiers; which hurts him. But, said they, is he a popular Man with them? Altogether so, says *Heraclides*. Then, answered the *Lacedæmonians*, will not he oppose our carrying away the Army? If you call the Soldiers together, says *Heraclides*, and promise them Pay, they will have no Regard to him, but will quickly follow you. How, replied they, shall they be assembled for that Purpose? Early to-morrow Morning, says *Heraclides*, we will bring you to them, and I am confident, added he, that, as soon as they see you, they will chearfully assemble. This was the Result of that Day's Business.

THE next, *Seuthes*, and *Heraclides* brought the *Lacedæmonians* to the Army, which assembled for that Purpose. These informed them, that the *Lacedæmonians* had resolved to make War upon *Tissaphernes*, Who, said they, has injured you. If therefore you engage with us, you will both revenge yourselves of an Enemy, and receive each of you a Darick a Month, the Captains

BOOK *two, and the Generals four.* This was well
VII. received by the Soldiers: and, presently,
 one of the *Arcadians* rose up to accuse
Xenophon. *Seuthes* was also present, being
 desirous to know the Result, and, for that
 Purpose, had placed himself within hear-
 ing with his Interpreter; though he him-
 self understood most Things, that were
 spoken in *Greek*. The *Arcadian* said;
Know then, O Lacedæmonians! that we
should, long since, have engaged ourselves in
your Service, if Xenophon had not prevailed
upon us to come hither; where, though we
have been upon Duty both Night, and Day,
*during this severe Winter, we have*ⁿ *acquired*
nothing; while he enjoys the Reward of our
Labour, and Seuthes enriches him personally,
and deprives us of our Pay: So that, con-
tinued he, if I could see this Man stoned to
Death, and punished for leading us about, I
should

ⁿ Οὐδὲν πεπᾶσθαι. Πιτᾶσθαι, κικτῆσθαι. *Hesychius*.
 Both which, in my Opinion, signify much oftener *to ac-*
quire than *to possess*; I look upon the Word to have the
 same Sense also in that very moral, and sensible Epigram
 of *Solon*, the *Atbenian* Legislator as quoted by *Plutarch*, in
 his Life of him,

Χρήματα δ' ἰμῖν μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πεπᾶσθαι
 Οὐκ ἰθὺλα, πάντως ὕστερος ἔλθε δίκη.

But, as πεπᾶσθαι signifies also *to possess*, I will not blame
Hutchinson for translating it, upon this Occasion, *nihil*
possidemus, though I have translated it otherwise myself:
 A little farther it signifies, beyond all Doubt, *to possess*.

should think I had received my Pay, and no longer regret my Labour. After him, another got up, and then another: Upon which, Xenophon spoke as follows:

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THERE is nothing a Man ought not to expect, since I find myself accused by you for that, in which my Conscience tells me I have had all the Zeal in the World for your Service. I was already set out in order to go Home, when I turned back, be assured, not because I heard you were in Prosperity, but rather because I was informed you were in Difficulties, with this Intent that I might serve you, if it was in my Power. When I came to the Army, though Seuthes sent several Messengers to me with many Promises, in Case I prevailed upon you to go to him, yet I never endeavoured it, as you yourselves know; but led you to that Place, from whence I thought you would have the quickest Passage into Asia: This I looked upon as a Measure the most agreeable both to your Interest, and Inclination. But, when Aristarchus arrived with the Gallies, and prevented your Passage, I then (as it became me) called you together, that we might consider what was to be done. Upon that Occasion you heard, on one side,
Ari-

BOOK Aristarchus ordering you to go to the Cher-
VII. *sonesus, and, on the other, Seuthes proposing*
Terms to engage you in his Service, when all
of you declared you would go with Seuthes,
and all gave your Votes for it. Say then, if
I committed any Crime in carrying you whi-
ther you all resolved to go. If, when Seuthes
began to break his Promise concerning your
Pay, I then commended him, you would have
Reason both to accuse, and hate me: But if
I, who was before his greatest Friend, am
now his greatest Enemy, how can you any
longer with Justice blame me, who have given
you the Preference to Seuthes, for those very
Things, about which I quarrel with him?
Possibly, you may say that I have received
your Pay of Seuthes, and that all I say is
Artifice: But, is it not plain, that, if Seu-
thes paid me any Thing, it was not with a
View of being deprived of that Part of your
Pay which he gave me, and of paying you the
rest? On the contrary, if he had given me
any Thing, I dare say, his Design would
have been to excuse himself from paying you
a large Sum, by giving me a small one. If
therefore you are of Opinion, that this is the
Case, it is in your Power presently to render
this

this ° Collusion useless to both of us, by ° insist- ing upon your Pay: For it is evident that Seuthes, if I have received a Bribe from him, will, with Justice, redemand it, when I fail in performing the Contract, in Consideration of which I was bribed. But my Conscience tells me that I am far from having received any Thing, that belongs to you: For I swear by all the Gods, and Goddesses, that I have not even received from Seuthes what he promised me in Particular. He is present himself, and, as he hears me, he knows whether I am guilty of Perjury, or not: And, that you may still have more Reason to wonder, I also swear that I have not only received less than the rest of the Generals, but even than some of the Captains. For what Reason then did I do this? I flattered myself, Gentlemen! that the greater Share I had of this Man's Poverty, the greater I should have of his Friendship, when it was in his Power to shew it: But, I see him now in Prosperity, and, at the same Time, discover his Temper. Possibly, some may say, are you not then ashamed to be thus stupidly deceived? I should, indeed, be ashamed to be thus deceived by an Enemy; but,

° Πράξις. Προδοσία. Suidas.

° Πράττειν αὐτὸν τὰ χρήματα. Πράττειν, ἀπαιτεῖν θαι. Phavorinus.

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but, in my Opinion, there is a greater Shame in deceiving a Friend, than in being deceived by him. If it is allowed to be upon one's Guard against a Friend, I know you have all been very careful not to give this Man a just Pretence to refuse the Payment of what he promised: For we have neither done him any Injury, neither have we hurt his Affairs through Negligence, or through Fear, declined any Enterprize he proposed to us. But, you will say, we ought then to have taken some Assurance, that, although he had been desirous to deceive us, he might not even have had it in his Power. Hear then what I should never have mentioned before him, unless you had shewn yourselves either intirely inconsiderate, or very ungrateful to me. You remember under what Difficulties you laboured, from which I extricated you by carrying you to Seuthes. When you offered to go into Perinthus, did not Aristarchus the Lacedæmonian, shut the Gates against you? Did not you, upon that, encamp in the open Field? Was not this in the Middle of Winter? Was there not a Scarcity of Provisions in the Market, and a Scarcity of the Means to purchase them? In the mean Time, you were under a Necessity of staying in Thrace, (for the

the Gallies lay at Anchor ^a to observe your Motions, and hinder your Passage,) and, while you staid, you staid in an Enemy's Country, where great Numbers both of Horse, and Targeteers were ready to oppose you. It is true, we had heavy-armed Men, who, by going to the Villages, in a Body, might, possibly, provide themselves with a small Quantity of Corn, but we were not prepared to pursue the Enemy, or supply ourselves with Slaves, and Cattle: For, at my Return, I found neither the Horse, nor Targeteers, any longer, in a Body. While, therefore, you were in so great Necessity, if, without even insisting upon any Pay, I had procured Seuthes to become your Ally, who had both Horse, and Targeteers, which you were in Want of, do you think I should have made ill Terms for you? It was owing to their Assistance that you not only found greater Quantities of Corn in the Villages, the Thracians being thereby obliged to precipitate their Flight, but had also your Share both of Cattle, and Slaves. From the Time also we had the Assistance of these Horse, we saw no Enemy, though, before, they boldly harassed us both with their Horse,

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^a Τείρεται ἐφορμῶσαι. Εφορμαῖν. Ενεδρεύειν ἐν πολλοῖς.
Suidas.

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Horse, and Targeteers, and, by hindering us from going off in small Parties, prevented our supplying ourselves with Provisions in any Quantity. But, if the Person, whose Assistance procured you this Security, has not also paid you very considerably for being secure, can you look upon this as a moving Calamity? And, for this, do you think yourselves obliged, by no Means, to suffer me to live? But, in what Circumstances are you now you are leaving this Country? After you have passed the Winter in Plenty, have you not, as an Accession to this Advantage, the Money you have received from Seuthes? For you have lived at the Expence of the Enemy: And, while you have been thus employed, none of you have either been killed, or taken Prisoners. If you have gained some Reputation against the Barbarians in Asia, is not that entire, and have you not added a new Glory to it by the Conquest of the European Thracians? I own I think you ought to return Thanks to the Gods for those very Things, as for so many Blessings, for which you are displeased with me. This is the Situation of your Affairs: Consider now, I beg of you, that of mine. When I first set sail in order to return Home, I went away attended with
great

great Praise from you, and, through you, with Reputation from the rest of Greece: I had also the Confidence of the Lacedæmonians: (otherwise they would not have sent me back to you) Now, I go away suspected by the Lacedæmonians through your Means, and hated by Seuthes upon your Account, whom I proposed, by uniting my Services to yours, to have made an honourable Refuge both to myself, and my Children, if I should have any: While you, for whose Sake chiefly I have made myself odious, and that to Persons far more powerful than myself; while you, I say, for whom I cease not, even now, to procure all the Advantages I am able, entertain such Thoughts of me. You have me in your Power, I neither fled from you, nor endeavoured it; and, if you do what you say, know that you will put to Death a Man, who has often watched for your Safety; who has undergone many Labours, and Dangers with you, while he not only did his own Duty, but that of others; who, by the Favour of the Gods, has with you raised many Trophies of the Barbarians Defeats, and who laboured, to the utmost of his Power, to engage you to make none of the Greeks your Enemies. For you are now at Liberty to go whithersoever

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you please either by Sea, or Land, without Controul. This then is the Season, when there is so great an Appearance of Prosperity; now you are going to sail for a Country, where you have long since desired to be; when those, who are most powerful, want your Assistance; when Pay is offered, and the Lacedæmonians, who are allowed to be the best Generals, are come to command you; this, I say, you think the proper Season to put me to Death. You did not think fit to do it, when we were in Difficulties, O Men of admirable Memories! Then you called me Father, and promised ever to remember me as your Benefactor. However, those who are now come to command you, are not void of Sense; so that, I believe your Behaviour to me will not recommend you to them. Xenophon said no more.

THEN Charminus, the Lacedæmonian, rose up, and spoke in the following Manner; Gentlemen! You seem to have no just Cause of Displeasure against this Man; since I myself can give Testimony in his Favour: For Seuthes, when Polynicus and I enquired what kind of Man Xenophon was, had nothing else to lay to his Charge, but that he
was

was a great Friend to the Soldiers, which, BOOK
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 says he, hurts him both with regard to the
 Lacedæmonians, and to myself. After him,
 Eurylochus of Lusi, an Arcadian got up,
 and said: My Opinion is, O Lacedæmo-
 nians! that the first Act of Generalship you
 exercise should be to obtain our Pay of Seu-
 thes, either with, or without his Consent;
 and that, 'till then, you ought not to carry us
 away. Polycrates, the Athenian, next rose
 up, and spoke in Favour of Xenophon:
 Gentlemen! says he, I see Heraclides also
 present in the Assembly, who, having received
 the Booty we acquired by our Labour, and
 sold it, has neither paid the Money to Seu-
 thes, nor to us; but, having robbed both, still
 keeps Possession of it. If, therefore, we are
 wise,

τὰ γινόμενα. I cannot agree with Hutchinson that this Word is taken by Thucydides, in the Passage quoted by him, nearly in the same Sense our Author takes it here: In the Passage, quoted by him out of Thucydides, Thucydides that Author says the Athenian Tyrants, Hippias, and Hipparchus, adorned the City, carried on the Wars, and performed the Sacrifices by exacting only the twentieth Part of the Product of the Country from the Athenians, Ἀθηναῖοις εἰκοστὴν μόνον πρᾶσσόμενοι τῶν γινομένων, which Signification of the Word is put out of all Dispute by what Meursius Meursius says of the Tax of the tenth Part of the Product in Pisistr. of the Country imposed upon the Athenians by Pisistratus, c. 6, 7, 9. which he calls δικαίην τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ γινομένων: In the Passage, therefore, of Thucydides τὰ γινόμενα signifies the Product of the Country, but here it signifies, as Hutchinson himself, and all the other Translators have rendered it, the Money raised by the Sale of the Booty.

BOOK VII. *wife, let us apprehend him: For this Man is no Thracian; but being himself a Greek, does an Injury to Greeks.*

HERACLIDES hearing this, was thunder-struck, and, coming to *Seuthes*, said, *If we are wise, we shall withdraw ourselves out of the Power of these People: So they mounted on Horse-back, and rode off to their own Camp: From whence Seuthes sent Ebozelmius, his Interpreter, to Xenophon, to desire him to remain in his Service, with a thousand of the heavy-armed Men, assuring him, at the same Time, that he would give him the Places of Strength near the Sea, and every Thing else he had promised him. To this he added, as a Secret, that he was informed by Polynicus, that, if he put himself in the Power of the Lacedæmonians, he would certainly be put to Death by Thimbron. Many other Persons also, between whom, and Xenophon, there was an Intercourse of Hospitality, gave him Notice, that he lay under a Suspicion, and ought to be upon his Guard. Xenophon, hearing this, offered two Victims to Ju-*
piter

^a Τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βασιλεῖ. See note ^m, page 92, upon the sixth Book.

Jupiter the King, and consulted him whether it were better, and more advantageous for him to stay with *Seuthes*, upon the Terms he proposed, or to depart with the Army; and *Jupiter* signified to him that he ought to depart.

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AFTER that, *Seuthes* encamped at a greater Distance, and the *Greeks* quartered in the Villages, from whence they might get most Provisions, before they returned to the Sea: These Villages *Seuthes* had given to *Medosades*; who, seeing every Thing in them consumed by the *Greeks*, resented it; and, taking with him an *Odrysian*, a Man of the greatest Power of all those who had come from the *Upper Thracia* to join *Seuthes*, and about fifty Horse, came to the *Greek Army*, and called to *Xenophon* to come to him, who, taking some of the Captains, and other proper Persons, went to him. Then *Medosades* said; *You do us an Injury, O Xenophon! in laying waste our Villages. Wherefore, we give you Notice, I in the Name of Seuthes, and this Man from Medocus King of the Upper Thrace, to leave the Country: Otherwise, we shall not allow you*

BOOK VII. *you to remain here; and, if you continue to
infest our Territories, we shall treat you as
Enemies.*

WHEN Xenophon heard this, he said; *What you say is of such a Nature, that it is even a Pain to me to give an Answer to it: However, I shall return one for the Information of this Youth, that he may be acquainted both with your Behaviour, and with ours. Before we entered into an Alliance with you, we marched through this Country at our Pleasure, and laid waste, and burned any Part of it we thought proper: And you yourself when you came to us in the Quality of an Ambassador, staid with us, without the Apprehension of an Enemy. Whereas you, who are Subjects of Seuthes, either never came into this Country at all, or, if you came hither, you kept your Horses ready bridled, while you staid, as in a Country belonging to those, who were more powerful than yourselves. But now, since, by becoming our Allies, you have got Possession of it, you would drive us out of this Country, though you received it from us, as a Conquest we were willing to resign, for you yourself are sensible the Enemy was not strong enough to dis-*

dispossess us: And not only want to send us away without any Acknowledgement for the Benefits you have received, but also to hinder us, as far as you are able, from encamping in the Country, as we pass through it: And this you urge, without Reverence either to the Gods, or to this Man, who sees you now abounding in Riches; you who, before you entered into an Alliance with us, lived by Plunder, as you yourself have owned. But why do you say this to me? continues he, for I have no longer the Command, but the Lacedæmonians, to whom you resigned the Army, that they might carry it away, which you did without consulting me, most admirable Men! and without giving me an Opportunity of obliging them by delivering the Army to them, as I had disobliged them by carrying it to you.

As

* Ουχ ὅπως δῶρα δές. Ουχ ὅπως signifies here, not only not, in the same Manner as *Dion Cassius* uses it, where he says that *Gabinus*, being asked by *Clodius*, what he thought of the Law, he had brought in against *Cicero*, not only did not commend *Tully*, but accused the Roman Knights to the Senate. Ουχ ὅπως ἐκεῖνον ἐπίνεσεν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῆς βουλῆς προσκατηγόρησεν. I make no doubt but this Grecism induced the *Latins* to give the same Force to *non modo*; the following Passage of *Tully* is a remarkable Instance of it. *Regnum non modo Romano homini, sed ne Persæ quidem cuiquam tolerabile.* *Dion Cassius*, 38B: *Cicero ad Attic.* 10.

7.

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As soon as the *Odryſian* heard what *Xenophon* ſaid; O *Medofades*! ſays he, *I am ready to ſink into the Earth with Shame, when I hear this. Had I known it before, I ſhould not have accompanied you, and ſhall now depart; for Medocus, my Sovereign, will not approve of my Conduct, if I ſhould drive our Benefactors out of the Country.* Having ſaid this, he mounted on Horſeback, and rode away, with all the reſt of the Horſe, except four, or five. Upon which, *Medofades* (for he was uneaſy to ſee the Country laid waſte) deſired *Xenophon* to call the two *Lacedæmonians*. He, taking ſome proper Perſons along with him, went to *Charminus*, and *Polynicus*, and told them *Medofades* deſired they would come to him, deſigning to order them, as he had him, to leave the Country: *It is my Opinion, therefore, ſays he, that you will receive the Pay due to the Army, if you let him know that the Soldiers have deſired you to aſſiſt them in obtaining it, either with, or without the Conſent of Seuthes; and that they engage to follow you, with Chearfulneſs, if they ſucceed in their Demands. Tell him, at the ſame Time, that you find their Claim is founded in Juſtice,*
and

and that you have promised them not to depart 'till they succeed in it. The Lacedæmonians, hearing this, said, they would acquaint him with it, and with whatever else would prove most effectual: And immediately set out with proper Persons to attend them. When they arrived, Charminus said, O Medosades! if you have any Thing to say to us, speak; if not, we have something to say to you. Medosades, with great Submission answered, Seuthes, and I, have this to say: We desire that those who are become our Friends, may suffer no ill Treatment from you; for whatever Injury you do to them, you will now do to us, since they are our Subjects. The Lacedæmonians replied, We are ready to depart, as soon as those who have forced them to submit to you, have received their Pay: Otherwise, we are come to assist them, and take Revenge of those Men, who, in Violation of their Oaths, have wronged them. If you are of that Number, we shall begin by doing them Justice against you.

THEN Xenophon said: *Are you willing, O Medosades! to leave it to the People, in whose Country we are, (since you say they are your Friends) to determine, whether you, or*

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we, shall leave it? This he refused, but desired, by all means, the two Lacedæmonians would go to Seuthes about the Pay, and said it was his Opinion Seuthes would hearken to them: But, if they did not approve of that, he desired they would send Xenophon with him, assuring them of his Assistance in obtaining it. In the mean Time, he begged they would not burn the Villages. Upon this, they sent Xenophon with such Persons as were thought most proper to attend him. When he came to Seuthes, he said: I am not come, O Seuthes! to ask any Thing of you, but to demonstrate to you as well as I am able, that you had no just Cause to be displeased with me for demanding of you, on the Behalf of the Soldiers, the Pay which you chearfully promised them; since I was convinced that it was not less your Interest to give it, than theirs to receive it: For I knew, in the first Place, that, next to the Gods, they have rendered you conspicuous by making you King over a large Extent of Country, and great Numbers of People: So that your Actions, whether commendable, or infamous, cannot possibly be concealed from public Notice. In this Situation, I look upon
it,

it, as a Matter of great Moment to you not to have it thought that you send away your Benefactors without rewarding their Services; and not less so to have your Praise celebrated by six thousand Men. But, above all, that it concerns you, in no Degree, to derogate from the Credit of what you say; for I observe the Discourse of Men without Credit to be vain, and ineffectual, and to wander disregarded; while that of Persons, who are known to practise Truth, is not less effectual to obtain what they desire, than the Power of others; I know also that, if they propose to reform any one, their Threats are not less powerful to that End, than the immediate Punishments inflicted by others; and if such Men promise any Thing, they succeed no less by promising, than others by giving presently. Recollect with yourself what you paid us, before you received our Assistance. I know you paid us nothing. But the Confidence you created in us of your Performance of what you promised, induced such Numbers of Men to join their Arms to yours, and conquer a Kingdom for you, not only worth fifty Talents, (the Sum these Men look upon to be now due to them) but many Times that Sum. In the first Place, therefore, for this Sum, you sell
your

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your Credit, to which you owe your Kingdom. After that, call to Mind of what Consequence you thought it to you to obtain what you now have conquered, and possess. I know you wished to obtain it rather than to gain many Times that Sum. Now I look upon it to be a greater Injury, as well as Disgrace, to lose the Possession of this Conquest, than never to have gained it; as it is more grievous to a rich Man to become poor, than never to have been rich, and more afflicting to a King to become a private Man, than never to have been a King. You are sensible that these People, who are now become your Subjects, were not prevailed upon to submit to you by their Affection for you, but by Necessity: And that they would endeavour to recover their Liberty, if they were not restrained by Fear. Whether therefore do you think they will be more afraid, and more devoted to your Interest, if they see not only these Soldiers disposed to stay, if you desire it, and presently to return, if necessary, but others, from the advantageous Character these give of you, ready to come to your Assistance in any Thing you require of them; or, if they are possessed with an Opinion that, hereafter, none will ever engage in your Service from a Distrust created

created by your present Behaviour; and that BOOK
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these have a greater Affection for them, than
for you? Besides, these People did not submit
to you, because they were inferior to us in
Numbers; but because they wanted Leaders.
This Danger, therefore, you are also exposed
to: They may chuse for their Leaders some
of our Men, who think themselves wronged by
you, or those who have still more Power, the
Lacedæmonians: Especially, if on one Side,
the Soldiers shew greater Alacrity to engage
in their Service upon Condition that they
force you to give them their Pay; and, on
the other, the Lacedæmonians, from the
Want they have of the Army, consent to the
Condition. It is also no Secret, that the
Thracians, who are now become your Sub-
jects, had rather march against you, than
with you: For, if you conquer, they are
Slaves; and if you are conquered, free. But,
if you think it incumbent on you to have any
Regard to the Country, now it is your own,
whether do you think it will receive less
Damage, if these Soldiers, having received
what they insist upon, leave it in Peace, or if
they stay in it, as in an Enemy's Country;
while you endeavour to raise more numerous
Forces, which must also be supplied with Pro-
visions,

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VII.

visions, and with these make head against them? And whether do you think the Expence will be greater, if the Money due to these is paid, or if this is still suffered to remain due, and it becomes necessary for you to take other Forces into your Pay "powerful enough to subdue the former? But Heraclides, I find, by what he declared to me, thinks this Sum very considerable. It is certainly much less considerable to you now both to raise, and pay, than the tenth Part of it was before we came to you: For the Quantity of Money is not the Measure of the Greatness, or Smallness of the Sum, but the Ability of the Person, who is either to pay, or to receive it: And your annual Income now exceeds the Whole of what before you were worth. In what I have said, O Seuthes! I have had all the Consideration for you that is due to a Friend, to the End that

" ΑΛΛΗΣ ΤΙ ΚΡΕΙΤΤΟΝΑΣ ΤΑΥΤΩΝ ΜΙΘΗΣΘΑΙ. Hutchinson has great Reason to find Fault with Leunclavius, and Amaseus, for translating κρείττονας here, *maiores Copia, major Exercitus*. It most certainly signifies, as he has rendered it, *armis potentiores*: D' Ablancourt's Translation is still more loose than that of the two first, he has said *faire de nouvelles Levées pour nous faire tête*. I shall add to what Hutchinson has said a Passage in Thucydides, where he not only uses κρείττονας in the same Sense, but explains it himself by δυνατώτεροι; he is giving an Account of the State of Greece before the Trojan War, and says, ἱφίμενοι γὰρ τῶν περδῶν, οἷτε ἥσσης ὑπέρμεινον τῶν κρείσσων ἀνδρῶν, οἷτε δυνατώτεροι, περισσείας ἔχοντες, προσεποιῶντο ὑπηκούς τὰς ἐλάσσας πόλεις.

Thucydes, 1 B.

that both you may appear worthy of the BOOK
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Favours the Gods have bestowed on you, and I not lose my Credit with the Army. For be assured that, if I desired to punish an Enemy, it is not in my Power to effect it with this Army, or to assist you, if I were again inclined to attempt it: Such is their Disposition with regard to me. And now I call both upon you, and the Gods, who know the Truth of what I say, to witness, that I have never had any Thing from you in Return for the Services you have received from the Army, or ever demanded of you, for my own Use, any Thing that was due to them, or claimed what you promised me. I also swear that, though you had been willing to perform your Promise to me, yet I would not have accepted any Thing, unless the Soldiers, at the same Time, had received what was due to them: For it would have been a Shame for me to succeed in my own Pretensions, and to suffer theirs to remain without Effect; particularly, since they had done me the Honour to chuse me for one of their Generals. Heraclides, I know, looks upon all Things as Trifles, when compared to the Possession of Riches, by what Means soever acquired: But I, O Seuthes! am of Opinion, that no Possession does more

BOOK *become, and adorn a Man, particularly a*
 VII. *Prince, than that of Virtue, Justice, and*
Generosity; for whoever enjoys these, is not
only rich in the numerous Friends he has, but
in those who desire to become so: If he is in
Prosperity, he has many ready to rejoice with
him; and if in Adversity, to relieve him.
But, if neither my Actions, nor my Words
are able to convince you that I am your sin-
cere Friend; consider what the Soldiers said;
for you were present, and heard the Speeches
of those, who were desirous to asperse me.
They accused me to the Lacedæmonians,
that I was more devoted to your Interest,
than to that of the latter; and, at the same
Time, objected to me that I studied your Ad-
vantage more than theirs: They also said
*that I had received Presents * from you.*
Now, do you think they accused me of receiv-
ing these Presents, because they discovered in
me any Indisposition to your Service, or be-
cause

* Εφασαν δὲ μὴ εἶ δῶρα ἔχειν παρὰ σοῦ. I have rendered δῶρα here *Presents* not *Bribes*, which would have been inconsistent with what he says afterwards, though I doubt not but every *English* Reader will have the same Satisfaction I have in observing that neither δῶρον, in *Greek*, donum, in *Latin*, or un *Present*, in *French*, have the Force of our Word *Bribe*: a *Foreigner*, who does not know us, may say that our *Manners* have coined the Word, but we, who know ourselves, know how much we are above such an Imputation.

cause they observed in me the greatest Zeal to promote it? I am indeed of Opinion that all Men ought to shew an Affection to those, from whom they have received Presents. Before I did you any Service, you gave me a favourable Reception by your Looks, your Words, and your Hospitality, and never could satisfy yourself with making Promises. Now, you have accomplished what you desired, and are become as considerable as I could make you, finding me thus fallen into Disgrace with the Soldiers, you dare neglect me. But I am confident, Time will inform you that you ought to pay them what you promised, and also that you yourself will not suffer those, who have been your Benefactors, to load you with Reproaches. I have, therefore, only this Favour to ask of you, that, when you pay it, you will study to leave me in the same Credit with the Army in which you found me.

WHEN Seuthes heard this, he cursed the Man, who had been the Cause of their not having been paid long since; (every one concluding he meant Heracles) For my Part, says he, I never designed to deprive them of it; and will pay them what is due. Then Xenophon said again: Since

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you are resolved to pay the Money, I desire it may pass through my Hands, and that you will not suffer me to be in a different Situation with the Army now from that I was in when we came to you. Seuthes answered, You shall not suffer in the Opinion of the Soldiers by my Means; and, if you will stay with only one thousand heavy-armed Men, I will give you not only the Places of Strength, but every Thing else I promised. The other made Answer, That is not possible, so dismiss us. I know, replies Seuthes, you will find it safer for you to stay with me, than to depart. Xenophon answered, I commend your Care of me: However, I cannot possibly stay, but wheresoever, I am in Credit, be assured that you shall also find your Advantage in it. Upon this, Seuthes said: I have very little Money; no more than one ^y Talent, which I give you: But I have six hundred Oxen, four thousand Sheep, and one hundred and twenty Slaves: Take these with you, together with the Hostages of those who wronged you. Xenophon replied smiling; But, if these are not sufficient to raise the Money that is due, whose Talent shall I say I have? Is it not more adviseable for me, since my Return is attended with

^y Τάλαντον. See note ^m, page 9, upon the first Book.

with Danger, to take Care I am not stoned? BOOK
VII.
you heard their Threats. The Remainder
 of the Day they staid there.

THE next, he delivered to them what he had promised; and sent Persons with them to drive the Cattle. In the mean Time, the Soldiers said that *Xenophon* was gone to *Seuthes* with a Design to live with him, and to receive what the other had promised him: But, when they saw him returned, they were rejoiced, and ran to him. As soon as *Xenophon* saw *Charminus*, and *Polynicus*, he said, *The Army is obliged to you for these Things. I deliver them to you; do² you sell them, and distribute the Money among the Soldiers.* They, having received the Things, and appointed Persons to dispose of them, sold them accordingly, and incurred great Censure. *Xenophon* had no Share in the Management; but openly prepared to return home: For he was² not yet banish-

² Διατιθέμενοι. Διάδοσις. See note 9, page 144, upon the sixth Book.

² Ου γάρπω ψήφῳ αὐτῷ ἐπῆλτο Ἀθήνῃσι περὶ τῆς φυγῆς. See the Author's Life at the Beginning of this Translation.

BOOK VII. banished from *Athens*. But his ^b Friends in the Army came to him, and begged he would not leave them 'till he had carried away the Army, and delivered it to *Thimbron*.

AFTER this, they crossed the Sea to ^c *Lampsacus*, where *Euclides*, the *Phliasian* Priest, the Son of ^d *Cleagoras* who painted the

^b Επιτήδαιοι. Επιτήδειος. φίλος. ἑταῖρος. ἀρμόδιος. *Suidas*. I have chosen the first of these with *d' Ablancourt*. The two *Latin* Translators have preferred the last.

^c Εἰς Λάμψακον. *Lampsacus* was a Sea-Port Town in *Xenoph.* *Asia* upon the *Hellepont*, over-against *Ægos Potamos*; that ² *B. of the* Streight is there about fifteen *Stadia* over, that is, about *Affairs of* an *English* Mile and a half. *Lyfander*, the *Lacedæmonian* *Greece.* General, took *Lampsacus* just before he defeated the *Athenians* at the last mentioned Place. See the Introduction.

^d Κλειγόρου υἱοῦ τῷ τὰ ἱερῶν ἐν Ἀνατολῇ γεγραφότο. Doctor *Potter*, the late worthy Primate of *England*, in his *Archæologia Græca*, that Treasure of *Greek* Learning, says the *Lyceum* was situated upon the Banks of the *Ilissus*, and received its Name from *Apollo Λυκοκτόνον* or *Λύκειον*, to whom it was dedicated. The *Greek* Scholiast upon

Aristoph. *Aristophanes*, and *Suidas* says it was a Place designed for military Exercises. I am sorry I cannot get any Light concerning the Painter, and Picture mentioned by *Xenophon*, but nothing is to be found in *Pliny*, or *Pausanias* concerning either, though several considerable Painters, who flourished before this Time, are mentioned by the former, as *Polygnotus*, and *Micon*, who painted a Portico at *Athens* called the *Pæile*; and particularly *Panæus*,

Pl. N. H. Brother to *Phidias* the famous Statuary, who painted the ³⁵ *B. c. 34.* Battle of *Marathon*, where the Generals, both *Greeks*, and *Persians* were represented as big as the Life, which I take to be the Signification of *Iconici Duces*, the Words made use

the Dreams in the *Lyceum*, met *Xenophon*, BOOK
VII.
and after congratulating him upon his safe Return; asked him how much Gold he had. The other swore to him that he had not Money enough to carry him Home, unless he sold his Horse, and his Equipage: However, *Euclides* gave no Credit to him. But, after the Inhabitants of *Lampsacus* had sent him Presents in token of their Hospitality, and *Xenophon* was offering Sacrifice to *Apollo* in his Presence, *Euclides*, upon viewing the Entrails of the Victims, said, he was now convinced he had no Money. But, added he, *I find, if there should ever be a Prospect of any, that there will be some Obstacle, and, if no other, that you will be an Obstacle to yourself.* *Xenophon* owned this: Upon which, *Euclides* said, *The * Meilichian Jupiter*

use of by *Pliny* upon that Occasion; since *Athenæus* calls 1 B.
Statues as big as the Life *ἰκονικὰ ἀγάλματα*, and *Plato* *In Phæd.*
says *εἰκόνα ἰσομέγεθρον* in the same Sense.

* Ο Ζεὺς ὁ Μελίχιος. There is a Passage in *Thucydides*, *Thucydi-*
where, speaking of *Cylon's* seizing the Citadel of *Athens*, des, 1 B.
he mentions the *Athenian* Festival celebrated without the
Walls of the City in Honour of the *Meilichian Jupiter*,
which he calls *Διάσια Diasia*, at which, he says, all the
People attended, and sacrificed not Victims, but Cakes
made in the Shape of Animals, according to the Custom of
the Country, οὐχ ἱερῆα, ἀλλ' θύματα ἐπιχώρια; for so the
Greek Scholiast explains the Word *θύματα*. The Reason
of my being so particular is, that *Xenophon* says he
offer-

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VII.

piter is an Obstacle to you, and asked him whether he had, at any Time, offered Sacri-

offered Sacrifice to the same *Jupiter*, and burned Hogs whole to him according to the Custom of his Country, *Xenophon* ἰθύιτο, καὶ ὠλοκάντει χοίρους τῷ πατρὶϊ νόμῳ: Are we then to imagine that either *Thucydides*, or *Xenophon* were uninformed of the Custom of their Country upon so great a Solemnity? I should almost be tempted to think the Hogs, *Xenophon* says he burned whole, were also Cakes made in the Shape of Hogs. There is a Passage in *Herodotus*, that, in some Degree, favours this Conjecture; he says the *Egyptians*, notwithstanding their known Aversion to Hogs, sacrificed them one Day in the Year to the Moon, and *Bacchus*, when they eat their Flesh, which they tasted upon no other Day, and that the poorer Sort made Cakes resembling Hogs, and, roasting them, offered them

Herodot.
in Euterp.

Diod. Sic.
1 B.

Julius
Pollux, 6
B. 76, seg.

in sacrifice: οἱ δὲ πάντες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθινείης βίῃ, γαστήρας πλάσαντες ὕς, καὶ ὀπτήσαντες, τὰς τας θύουσιν. But what Affinity is there between the religious Customs of the *Egyptians* and the *Athenians*? So great an Affinity that we find in *Diodorus Siculus*, the *Egyptians* pretended that the *Athenians* were one of their Colonies, and had received the *Eleusinian* Mysteries from them, which they said *Erichtheus*, an *Egyptian*, and, afterwards, King of *Athens*, carried from *Egypt*, and instituted among the *Athenians* in Honour of *Ceres*. I cannot say that I ever met with an Account, in any *Greek* Author, of Cakes offered by the *Greeks* in the Resemblance of Hogs; but, besides the Authority of the *Greek* Scholiast upon the Passage already mentioned in *Thucydides*, where he explains θυμάτα, τινὰ πύσματα εἰς ζῶων μορφὰς τιτυπωμένα, Cakes made in the Shape of Animals generally; I say, besides that Passage, we find in *Julius Pollux* that the *Greeks* offered Cakes to all the Gods, which Cakes had their Names from their different Shapes, as an Ox, which was a Cake with Horns and was offered to *Apollo*, and *Diana*, and *Hecate*, and the Moon. πύλανοι δὲ κοινοὶ πάνσι θεοῖς, κίκληται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος, ὥσπερ ὁ Βῆς· πύμμα γάρ ἐστι, κίχρατα ἔχον πτερυγμένα προσφερόμενοι Ἀπόλλωνι, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι, καὶ Ἑκάτῃ, καὶ Σελήνῃ. I shall conclude this Note with observing that *Apollo*, when taken for the *Sun*, was the same, among the *Egyptians*, and, afterwards, among the *Greeks*,

Sacrifice, in the same manner, as I, says **BOOK VII.**
 he, used to sacrifice for you at *Athens*,
 and offer a Holocaust. *Xenophon* answer-
 ed that, since he had been from Home,
 he had not sacrificed to that God; the
 other advised him to offer Sacrifice to
 that Divinity, assuring him that it would
 be for his Advantage. The next Day,
Xenophon, going to *Ophrynon* offered Sa-
 crifice, and burned Hogs, whole accord-
 ing to the Custom of his Country; and
 the Entrails were favourable. The same
 Day, *Biton*, and *Euclides* arrived with
 Money for the Army: These contracted
 an

Greeks, with *Dionysius*, or *Bacchus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* **Diod. Sic.**
 proves from this Verse of *Eumolpus*. **1 B.**

Ἀρσὸς δὲ Διόνυσος ἐν ἀκρίνοισι στυγερῶν,

And from another in *Orpheus*. Now, every body knows
 that these were the same with *Osiris*, as *Diana*, *Hecate*,
 and the Moon were the same Divinity with *Isis*; so that
 the Custom, mentioned by *Julius Pollux*, of offering
 Cakes in the Shape of Animals, to have been in Practice
 among the Greeks, seems to be derived from that men-
 tioned by *Herodotus* to have been in Use among the
Egyptians; especially, since we find they were offered to
 the same Divinities. *D'Abblancourt* seems to have forgot
 that *Jupiter* was worshipped at *Athens* under the Title of
Meilichius, for he takes the Name to be allegorical to the
 Mildness of *Xenophon's* Character, who did not make his
 Fortune pour avoir trop de Pudeur, as he says, because he
 was too bashful.

^f *Opevion*. A Town of *Dardania*, near which stood **Strabo,**
 the Grove of *Hector* upon a conspicuous Place. **13 B.**

BOOK VII. an Intercourse of Hospitality with *Xenophon*, and, hearing he had sold his Horse at *Lampsacus* for fifty Daricks, and suspecting he had sold him through Want, because they were informed he was fond of him, they redeemed the Horse, and restored him to *Xenophon*, refusing to accept the Price they had paid for him.

FROM thence they marched through *Troas*, and, passing over Mount *Ida*, came first to ^e *Antandrus*: Then, continued their March along the Coast of the *Lydian* Sea, to the Plain of *Thebes*. From thence through ^h *Atramyttium*, and *Certonium* by *Aterne*

Virg. 3 B. ^e Διὰ τῆς Τροίας, καὶ ὑπερβάσσει τὴν Ἰδὴν, εἰς Ἀντάνδραν φθινύσκει. The Misfortunes of *Troy*, or rather the fine Relations of them, have rendered all these Parts famous, so that there is no necessity of saying any Thing, either of *Troas*, or Mount *Ida*: *Antandrus*, was the Sea-port, where *Aeneas* built his Fleet to preserve the Remains of his Country: But one Thing must not be forgot; above *Antandrus* was a Mountain, called *Alexandria*, from *Paris*, where they say he passed Judgment upon the three contending Goddesses. The Town that gave Name to the Plain of *Thebe*, was called by the same Name, and belonged to *Eëtion* the Father to *Andromache*,
Strabo, 13 B. *Antandros* was a Mountain, called *Alexandria*, from *Paris*, where they say he passed Judgment upon the three contending Goddesses. The Town that gave Name to the Plain of *Thebe*, was called by the same Name, and belonged to *Eëtion* the Father to *Andromache*,
Homer Il. α. *Ἰλίου Πάριος* εἰς Ἰδὴν ἰσθμὸν ὁρᾷ. *Ἰλίου Πάριος* εἰς Ἰδὴν ἰσθμὸν ὁρᾷ.

In the taking of this Town *Chryseis* was taken Prisoner, and given to *Agamemnon*; the restoring of whom, with the Difficulties that attended it, and the Consequences that flowed from it, are the Subject of the *Iliad*.

Δι' Ἀτραμυττίου καὶ Κερτονίου πρὸς Ἀταρνίαν εἰς Καίαν πεδίοις ἰλθόντες, Πίργαρον καταλαμβάνουσι τῆς Μυσίας.
The

Aterne to the Plain of *Caicus*, and reached *Pergamus*, a City of *Myfia*. Here, *Xenophon* was entertained by *Hellas*, the Wife of *Gongylus*, the *Eretrian*, and the Mother of *Gorgion*, and *Gongylus*. She informed him that *Afidates*, a *Persian*, lay encamped in the Plain, adding that with three hundred Men, he might surprize him in the Night, and take him with his Wife and Children, and all his Riches, which were very considerable. At the same Time, she sent a Person, who was her Cousin-German together with *Dapbnagoras*, for whom she had a particular Value, to conduct them in the Enterprize: *Xenophon*, therefore, while these were with him, offered Sacrifice; and *Agasias*, the *Helean* Priest, being present, said the Victims were very favourable, and that the *Persian* might be taken Prisoner. Accordingly, after Supper, he set out, taking with him those Captains, who were most his Friends, and had ever been faith-

The first of these is a Sea-Port that gives its Name to the *Strabo*, *Bay*, the other two are Towns in, or near the Road from 13 *B*. the first to the Plain that is watered by the River *Caicus*. *Pergamus* was the Residence of the *Attalic* Kings; the last *Livy*, of whom left it with his Kingdom by Will to the *Roman* Ep. 58. People.

BOOK
VII.

faithful to him, that he might procure them some Advantage: Others, to the Number of six hundred accompanied him whether he would or no; but the Captains rode on before them, lest they should be obliged to give them a Share of the Booty, which they looked upon as their own.

THEY arrived about Midnight, when they suffered the Slaves, that lay round the Castle, together with a considerable Quantity of Effects, to escape, to the End they might take *Afidates* himself with his Riches: But not being able to take the Place by Assault, (for it was both high, and large, well fortified with Battlements, and defended by a good Number of brave Men) they endeavoured to make a Breach in the Wall; which was eight Bricks thick: However, by Break of Day the Breach was made; which was no sooner effected, than one of those, who were within, ran the foremost Man through the Thigh with a large

¹ Βυπόρου ὀφείλσκω. Βυπόρου ὀφείλεις, μεγάλης ὀφείλσκω.
Eurip. in *Phaenissus*. In this Sense *Euripides* takes it in his *Cyclops*,
Cycl. 2 where *Ulysses* tells him,

Αἶ.

Οὐκ ἀμφὶ βυπόροις περὶ θέντας μέλη
ὀφείλοισι, νηδὺν κ' γνάθου πλῆσαι σίθιν.

large Spit: After that, they sent such a Shower of Arrows, that it was no longer safe to approach the Wall. In the mean Time, their Cries, and the Signals they made by lighting Fires, drew *Itabelius*, with his Forces, to their Assistance: There came also from *Comania*, the Garrison, consisting of heavy-armed Men together with some *Hyrceanian* Horse, who were in the King's Pay, being about eighty in Number, and eight hundred Targeteers; besides others from *Parthenium*, *Apollonia*, and the neighbouring Places, and also Horse.

IT was now Time for the *Greeks* to consider how to make their Retreat: To effect this, they took all the Oxen, and Sheep that were there, and then, forming themselves into a hollow Square, and, placing them with the Slaves in the middle, they marched away. They were now no longer solicitous for their Booty, but only lest, by leaving it behind, their Retreat might seem a Flight, which would have increased both the Confidence of the Enemy, and the Dejection of their own Men: Whereas, while they made

BOOK made their Retreat in this Disposition,
 VII. they seemed resolved to defend their
 Booty. In the mean Time *Gongylus*, seeing the Number of the *Greeks* was small, and that of the Enemy, who hung upon their Rear, very considerable, came out himself, against his Mother's Will, at the Head of his own Forces, being desirous to have a Share in the Action: ⁴ *Procles* also, who was descended from *Damaratus*, came to their Assistance from *Elisarne*,¹ and *Teuthrania*. Now, as *Xenophon's* Men suffered very much from the Enemy's Arrows, and Slings, while they marched in a Ring, in Order to cover themselves from the Arrows with their Shields, it was with great Difficulty they passed the River *Caicus*, near half their Number being wounded. Here *Agasias* of *Stymphalus*, one of the Captains, was wounded, having the whole Time fought with great Bravery. At last they arrived safe with about two hundred Slaves, and Cattle enough for Sacrifice.

THE

¹ Πρεκλῆς — ὁ ἀπὸ Δαμαράτου. See note ², page 114, upon the second Book.

Pl. N. H. ⁴ Παρθίνιον — Απολλώνια — Ελισάρνη — Τευθρανία.
 5 B. c. 33. These four Towns are also placed by *Pliny* in *Mysia*.

THE next Day, *Xenophon* offered Sacrifice, and, in the Night, led out the whole Army with a Design to march as far as possible into *Lydia*, to the Intent that the *Persian*, seeing him no longer in his Neighbourhood, might be free from Fear, and unguarded. But *Afidates*, hearing that *Xenophon* had again offered Sacrifice concerning a second Expedition against him, and that he would return with the whole Army, quitted the Castle, and encamped in some Villages reaching to the Walls of *Parthenium*. Here, *Xenophon's* Men met with him, and took him with his Wife, and Children, his Horses, and all his Riches: And this was the Success promised in the former^m Sacrifice. After that they returned to *Pergamus*. Here *Xenophon* had no Reason to complain of *Jupiter Meilichius*; for the *Lacedæmonians*, the Captains, the rest of the Generals, and the Soldiers, all conspired toⁿ select for

^m Τα σφόδρα ἱερὰ. I imagine with *Hutchinson*, that *Xenophon* means the Sacrifice he says he offered in the Presence of *Agasias* of *Elis*, to distinguish it from that which he offered the Day after their unsuccessful Expedition.

ⁿ ὁρίνησθαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος. It was an early Custom among the Ancients to select the most valuable Part of the

BOOK for him not only Horses, but Yokes of
 VII. Oxen, and other Things: So that he had
 it now in his Power even to oblige a
 Friend.

AFTER this, *Thimbron* arrived, and, taking the Command of the Army, joined it to the rest of the Greek Forces, and made War upon *Tissaphernes*, and *Pharnabazus*.

THE following Persons were the King's Governors of the Countries, through the Booty for their Generals, which makes the following Reproach from *Thersites* to *Agamemnon* very impertinent, and consequently very agreeable to the Character of the Man who makes it.

Homer
 Il. β.

Ἀτρεΐδῃ, τίς δ' αὖτ' ἐπιμέμφεται, ὅδ' ἡρώδης;
 Πλείαι τοι χαλκὸς κλισίαι, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες
 ἔστιν ἐν κλισίῃς ἑταίρειοι, αἳ τοι Ἀχαιοὶ
 Πρωτίῳ δίδουσι, εὖτ' ἂν πολέεσσι ἔλθῃσι.

Where *ἑταίρειοι* is thus very properly explained by the Greek Scholast *αἱ κατὰ τιμὴν διδόμεναι ἀπὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων*. *Virgil* has preserved this Custom, and translated *ἑταίρειοι* in the ninth Book, where he makes *Ascanius* promise *Nisus* the War-Horse, the Shield, and Helmet of *Turnus* at his Return from the Enterprize he, and *Euryalus* had undertaken.

*Vidisti quo Turnus equo, quibus ibat in armis
 Aureus? ipsum illum, clypeum cristasque rubentes
 Excipiam forti, jam nunc tua præmia Nise.*

In the eighth Book, *Virgil* calls the Horse, which was reserved for *Aeneas*'s own riding, when he went to the *Tuscan*s to implore their Assistance; *exsortem*, which is a literal Translation of *ἑταίρεος*.

through which we marched; of *Lydia*, *Artimas*; of *Phrygia*, *Artacamas*; of *Lycæonia* and *Cappadocia*, *Mithridates*; of *Cilicia*, *Syenneſis*; of *Phœnicia*, and *Arabia*, *Dernis*; of *Syria*, and *Aſſyria*, *Beleſis*; of *Babylon*, *Roparas*; of *Media*, *Arbacas*; of the *Phaſians*, and *Hesperitans*, *Teribazus*; (the *Carduchians*, the *Chalybians*, the *Chaldeans*, the *Macrons*, the *Colchians*, the *Mofynæcians*, the *Cætans*, and *Tibarenians* being free Nations) of *Paphlagonia*, *Corylas*; of the *Bithynians*, *Pharnabazus*; and of the *European Thracians*, *Seuthes*.

BOOK
VII.

THE whole of the Way, both of the Expedition, and Retreat conſiſted of two hundred and fifteen Days March of ° eleven

° Παραſάγαι χίλιοι ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, ῥάδια τρις-
μύρια τετρακισχίλια, διακόσια πεντήκοντα πέντε. I have
followed *Hutчинson's* Correction, who, very properly, I
think, inſtead of διακόσια, reads ἑξακόσια, and takes
away the Word πέντε. - Concerning theſe Meaſures of
Length, ſee note *, page 15, upon the firſt Book. To
which I ſhall only add that theſe Paraſangas, or Stadia,
being reduced to *Engliſh* Miles, amount to no more than
3305 Miles and a half, and not to 4331, as *Hutчинson* has
computed it, who, I find, reckons eight Stadia to an
Engliſh Mile; eight Stadia, indeed, make a μίλιον, or
Greek Mile, but do not, by a great deal, amount to an
Engliſh Mile; ſince an *Engliſh* Mile, according to *Arbuth-* *Arbuth-*
not, contains 1056 geometrical Paces, and a *Greek* Mile not of
only 806: So that an *Engliſh* Mile is to a *Greek* Mile, as *Weights*
1056 to 806. 4331 *Greek* Miles being, therefore, con- and Mea-
Vol. II. K k tained ſures.

BOOK
VII.

ven hundred fifty-five Parasangas, and of thirty-four thousand six hundred and fifty Stadia, and the Time, employed in both, of a Year, and three Months.

tained in 34650 Stadia, if we say, 1056 : 806 :: 4331 : the proportional Number will be 3305, with a Fraction of 668, so that $3305\frac{1}{2}$ will be, to a trifle, the Number of *English* Miles contained in the 34650 Stadia mentioned by *Xenophon* to have been the Amount both of the Expedition and Retreat.



FN-

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n. refers to the Notes.

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